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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Leisure and Unemployment

by

Janet L. Taylor

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN

PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in Recreation

Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1988

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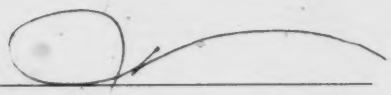
(SIGNED) 

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Leisure and Unemployment", submitted by Janet L. Taylor in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Thomas L Burton

Supervisor

Date: 88.09.18

DEDICATION

To Dave and to our two children, Laura and Alex,
who were born over the course of completing this thesis,
and for whom giving birth was much less difficult.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the differences and similarities of the unemployed and employed in terms of their life satisfaction and leisure pursuits. More specifically, the objectives of the study were to compare the unemployed to the employed in terms of: (1) their reported satisfaction in the life areas of non-working activities, family life, health and physical condition, amount of free time, friendships, standard of living and overall life; (2) the perceived importance they attribute to their leisure experiences; (3) the types of events and facilities they attend and the leisure activities in which they participate, and; (4) the frequency with which they attend or participate in their chosen events, facilities and activities.

The sample consisted of the 21 unemployed and 294 full time employed respondents to the 1982 Edmonton Area Study (E. A. S.). The answers given by these respondents to questions applicable to the current study constituted the data.

Results showed that in most of the study areas, the unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. were similar to the employed respondents. They were as satisfied with the various life areas; felt that recreation activities were equally important to them; chose similar activities, events and facilities, regardless of the cost of those pursuits; and, visited chosen events and facilities from all cost categories with the same frequency. Differences were found between the employed and unemployed respondents in that they participated for longer hours in their chosen leisure activities and this was especially the case for less costly activities. There also appeared to be a tendency for the unemployed to choose and pursue with more frequency activities which took place in the home as opposed to those outside of the home.

Many of the results of this study were not consistent with the literature on unemployment that predominantly describes the experience of joblessness as a downward spiral negatively affecting all life areas. Reasons for these inconsistencies, it was suggested, could include: the small sample size of unemployed respondents; the relatively

low rate of unemployment at the time of the data collection; and, the possibility of mediating or buffering factors.

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I would also like to thank the other members of my thesis committee, Dr. T. White and Dr. S.A. Mohsen for their advice and assistance.

In addition, I have the Planning Secretariat of the Government of Alberta Recreation and Parks Department to thank for asking me to write a discussion paper on Leisure and Unemployment. Completing this paper helped solidify my thinking and served as the basis for the literature review of this thesis.

Finally, and most importantly, I thank my family for their support. Without their encouragement and patience, the completion of my graduate studies and thesis would not have been possible.

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Part I

Introduction and Background

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The significance and magnitude of unemployment, now and as anticipated in the future, makes this area a timely and important focus of study and special interest. Not since the 'Dirty Thirties' have Canadians had to come to grips with the sociological, psychological, economic and political implications of having so many people out of work who claim that they want to work (C.M.H.A., 1983; Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985). These implications are likely to continue well into the future as projections indicate that unemployment levels are unlikely to abate to any great degree in the foreseeable future (Stonier, 1982; Communications Workers of Canada, 1983). The consequences of high levels of unemployment are many, with significant impacts upon Canadian society as a whole as well as upon the individual members of that society.

First, widespread unemployment is costly to a society and drains the financial resources of both government and voluntary human service organizations. "As the number of jobless has increased, safety net programs have paid out increasing amounts of money" (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1986). As well, there are other economic consequences of having large numbers of individuals without secure, adequate incomes. "The growing number of business bankruptcies, production cut-backs, and government concern over tax revenues attest to the fact that these sectors of the economy are also affected by the high levels of unemployment" (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1986).

High rates of unemployment can also have adverse effects on individuals who are not themselves unemployed. "Anxiety and frustration arising from insecurity and from an inability to change jobs affect a high proportion of those in work, and fear of redundancy [can] determine the mood of a whole region ..." (Pimlott, 1981).

Although the economic costs of unemployment to society are high, and psychological effects may be present for individuals who are still employed, the effects of unemployment are felt most directly and poignantly by those who are themselves without work. These individuals and their families must contend with their own personal economic losses and the resultant financial and psychological upheaval associated with the loss of a secure, adequate source of income. As well, they must adjust to the losses of the non-monetary benefits of employment, such as a source of identity and status, an outlet for creativity and productivity, a contact with co-workers, a daily routine, and a feeling of belonging (Jahoda, 1982).

Thus, unemployment is an important issue facing Canadians today, at both the individual and the societal level. It is against this background that the current research was undertaken. It addresses the social-psychological consequences of unemployment for the individuals directly involved - particularly in the areas of life satisfaction and more especially, leisure. Specifically, its purpose is to explore the differences and similarities between the unemployed and employed respondents to the 1982 Edmonton Area Study in terms of their life satisfaction and leisure pursuits.

Significance of the Study

A study that examines the leisure pursuits and life satisfaction of the unemployed as they compare to those of the employed may have several benefits.

First, past research on the experience of unemployment in general has taken the form of either case studies or large-scale descriptive surveys focussing only on the unemployed. There do not appear to have been any attempts to compare the unemployed to the employed, along any dimensions falling under the realm of social-psychology. As

well, there have only been a few inquiries into the leisure experience of the unemployed, most of which have taken the form of conjecture as opposed to empirical research. Information on the leisure pursuits and life satisfaction of the unemployed, as they compare to those of the employed, will add to the existing knowledge of the experience of unemployment, 'fleshing out' the area of leisure pursuits in particular.

Secondly, a study such as this will contribute directly to the field of recreation and leisure research. The focus on leisure pursuits, compared across work statuses rather than occupations, has the potential to offer new insights into leisure theory, most of which is currently based on the leisure-work dichotomy and the relationship between these two states.

In addition to its research and theory-related contributions, this study may also be of practical value. Governments and voluntary agencies in the leisure services delivery system would find knowledge of differences and similarities related to work status helpful in meeting the needs of their consumers. Recreation professionals have identified a need to respond to the increasing numbers of unemployed individuals who have abundant unoccupied time and limited resources (Hatton, et al, 1983; Glyptis, 1983; Roberts, 1983; Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1985). This research may assist them in this endeavour.

The providers of social services and other programmes for the unemployed may also find further knowledge of the life satisfaction and leisure pursuits of the unemployed helpful, particularly as it could assist their clientele in coping with various areas of dissatisfaction. For example, representatives of the Continuing Education Department of Grant MacEwan Community College in Edmonton expressed an interest to the current

researcher in offering classes for the unemployed to help them cope with the negative experiences of unemployment that do not directly relate to looking for a job.

Finally, this research may help to dispel what may be called the 'suffering' and the 'recreating or leisure' myths often attached to the notion of unemployment. The 'suffering myth', in which unemployment is seen as a wholly negative experience (actual and potential) that may only be alleviated by giving jobs to the unemployed, is found in some of the research literature that uses the case study methodology, as well as in some of the Labour Unions' writings on the subject (e.g., Communications Workers of Canada, 1983). The 'recreating or leisure myth' is connected to the widely-held work ethic and is espoused by many people in the community. This myth sees the experience of unemployment as being not only an experience of unearned leisure, but also an experience of unwisely-used leisure.

Thus, the significance of this study lies not only in its attention to an important current issue for Canadian Society, but also in its potential to add to existing knowledge and theory as well as to provide practical direction for recreation policy makers, programmers and other interested professionals.

Part II

Review of the Pertinent Literature

CHAPTER 2. THE WORK-LEISURE RELATIONSHIP

One of the more developed areas in terms of the scientific study of leisure comprises those theories which attempt to explain leisure behaviour in relation to work behaviour. It is generally agreed that the beginnings of the empirical study of work-leisure relationships are to be found in the writing of Wilensky (1960) who hypothesized two potential relationships between work and leisure: spillover and compensation. With spillover (also called extension), "work [was] said to 'spill-over' in leisure to the extent that leisure is the continuation of work experience and attitudes" (Murphy, 1981:44). The compensatory (or opposition) theory, on the other hand, stated that "leisure is compensatory if it seeks to make up for dissatisfaction experienced in work (Murphy, 1981:44).

Since Wilensky's pioneering studies, many researchers and theorists have tested and refined his original two theories but have found inconsistencies in the results obtained (Parker, 1965 and 1969; Meissner, 1971; Bacon, 1975; Gardell, 1976; Friedmann, 1962; Rouseau, 1978; Orpen, 1982; Gerstle, 1963). Modifications have been made to account for these inconsistencies, such as Parker's addition of a 'complementary' or neutral category, where work and leisure are seen as separate domains and are unrelated to each other (1965). Leisure, in this case, serves a relaxation function as compared to the recuperative function found in the opposition relationship and the personal development function found in the extension relationship (Parker, 1965).

Inconsistencies in the results of work-leisure research have posed difficulties for past researchers, but there is yet another problem which is of particular relevance to the current study. The original theories of the work-leisure relationship, as well as their

subsequent modifications, have consistently equated the word 'work' with 'paid employment'.

> Past research [testing the compensatory and spillover hypotheses] is characterized by having either focused on variations in patterns of leisure activities of individuals in different occupations, ... or attempted to relate specific characteristics of an individual's job to his or her choice of leisure activities ... (Champoux,1978).

Although broader definitions of 'work' exist, such as "productive activity which yields a result of economic or social value" (Kelly, 1982:115), "the traditional and most common usage is to define work as paid labour" (Burton, 1987).

The limitations of occupationally-based definitions of work are two-fold. Firstly, as elaborated by Burton, these definitions "lack usefulness because they do not reflect real human experience, and because a great amount of human labour is excluded" (1987). Secondly, explanations of leisure behaviour which are dependent upon work as paid employment are only applicable to a segment of society - a segment that may not include a majority of the members of society. According to Duffield,

> ... those in paid employment comprise significantly less than one-half of the population of the United Kingdom. There are many millions who spend large part (if not all) of their adult lives without the externally imposed structure that paid employment provides - those adults in paid employment now only marginally outnumber those with work (1982:30).

The Canadian experience is not unlike that of the United Kingdom. In February, 1987, total full and part time workers in Canada numbered 11,426,000, while the total population fifteen years of age and over (the lower age limit of the work force) was 19,735,000, making up 57.90% of Canadians in that age group. During this same month in Alberta, the total full and part time employed population of 1,108,000 comprised 62.78% of the 1,765,000 Albertans fifteen years of age and over (Statistics Canada).

Therefore, although those in paid employment more than marginally outnumbered those without work, there was still a great percentage of Canadians (42.10%) and

Albertans (37.22%) who were without the externally imposed structure of provided by paid employment. The unemployed - together with homemakers, retirees, disabled individuals and students - make up a significant and important segment of our society whose leisure behaviour cannot be explained by occupation-based theories. It is proposed here that, in order to understand the leisure of the unemployed, one must look to the literature and theories of unemployment rather than to those of work.

CHAPTER 3. UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE UNEMPLOYED

The Magnitude of Unemployment

Figures reported by Statistics Canada show that the seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment (expressed as a percentage of the total labour force) for February, 1987 was 10.9% for Alberta and 9.6% for all of Canada. Although these rates are lower than the Canadian high of 15.4% in 1984, they are nonetheless substantially higher than the low rates of between 3.5 and 5.0 that Canadians became accustomed to during the period from the 1950's to the late 1970's. During these two decades Canada experienced a period of what could be called 'full employment' expressed usually as an unemployment rate of between 3.0 to 4.0 percent. This low rate of unemployment is termed 'frictional' by economists and represents the number of people who are simply between jobs (Smith and Simpkins, 1980:7).

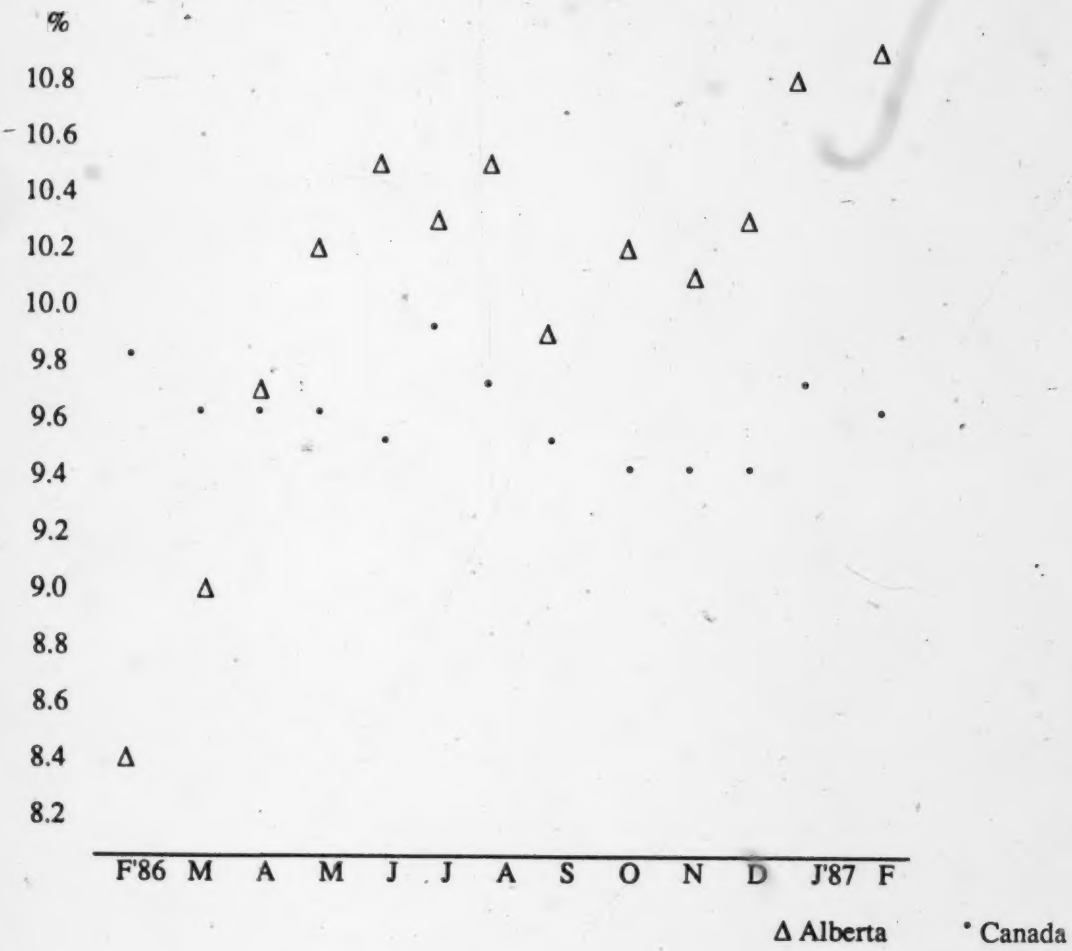
Looking back over the past year, we can see that, for Canada as a whole, this rate has remained relatively stable while for Alberta, it has risen markedly despite an optimistic forecast at the end of the 1985/86 fourth quarter (Alberta Labour Market Review, May, 1986) (See Figure 1). The current rate represents 139,000 Albertans who are without work! These figures, however, do not provide a complete picture of the magnitude of unemployment.

First, the official figures represent a limited definition of unemployment. Unemployment rates are determined from the results of Statistics Canada's Monthly Labour Force Survey, in which approximately 55,000 households across Canada (6,000 in Alberta) are surveyed. The unemployed are those people 15 years of age and over who during the survey's reference week did not work but were available for work (including students looking for part time work) and:

Figure 1

Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Rate for Canada and Alberta

February, 1986 to February, 1987
(Source: Statistics Canada)



a) had looked for work in the last four weeks; or,
b) had not looked for work, but had been on layoff for twenty-six weeks or less; or,
c) had not looked for work, but had a definite future job start in four weeks or less (Economic Services Branch, 1983).

The number of unemployed, as determined above, is then divided by the total work force (the unemployed plus the employed) to obtain the official unemployment rate.

Some writers feel that the official rates grossly underrepresent the actual incidence of unemployment. Hayes and Nutman define unemployment as ".. a state of worklessness experienced by people who see themselves or are seen by others as potential members of the work force " (1982:2). Individuals, such as housewives who would rather be working, students in school because they can't find a job, people on short-term job creation projects, part time workers who would rather work fulltime, the prematurely retired, the disabled and people who have given up their search for work (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985; Smith and Simpkins, 1980; C.M.H.A., 1983) might be classified as unemployed under a less restrictive definition. It has been estimated that the 'real' rate of unemployment could be as much as 100% greater (C.M.H.A., 1983 and Krahn, et al, 1984) with the addition of this 'hidden' unemployment. Therefore, in terms of the numbers of unemployed, the magnitude of unemployment may be considerably greater than the official statistics report.

Unemployment is not just a problem for the individual. It affects others, especially those who come into close contact with the unemployed. Thus, a discussion of its magnitude should consider the extent to which the families of the unemployed are affected. In April, 1985, the number of families in Alberta with at least one unemployed member was 101,000 - an increase from 31,000 in 1980. Further, in approximately one-half of these families the unemployed member was the head of the household (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985:10).

The incidence of unemployment is also distributed unequally across society. In Canada, each province has its own rate and a common reporting practice is to rank these rates in order of the lowest to highest (See Table 1[a]). In February, 1987, Newfoundland's jobless rate was the highest at 18.4 per cent, approximately twice the national rate. Alberta ranked fourth for this month, with a jobless rate of 10.9 per cent. Unemployment rates also vary within each provinces. In October, 1986, there was a wide range of rates in Alberta's Economic Regions (See Table 1[b]) with the North West region hardest hit at 10.8% and the East region least affected at 3.8%.

Table 1(a)

Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Rates for Canada and the Provinces

February, 1987
(Source: Statistics Canada)

	Rate(%)	Rank(up)
Newfoundland	18.4	10
Prince Edward Island	14.5	8
Nova Scotia	14.6	9
New Brunswick	13.1	6
Quebec	10.9	4
Ontario	6.8	2
Manitoba	6.7	1
Saskatchewan	7.2	3
Alberta	10.9	4
British Columbia	13.3	7
Canada	**9.4**	--

Table 1(b)
Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Rates for the Alberta Economic Regions

February, 1987
(Source: Statistics Canada)

	Rate(%)	Rank(up)
South	7.1	3
East	3.8	1
South Central	9.2	4
West	9.4	5
Central	10.1	6
North Central	10.7	7
North West	10.8	8
North East	6.6	2

Joblessness also varies across demographic groupings. Two recent concerns have been with the alarming incidence of unemployed youth and the growing number of older unemployed. "Youth are particularly hard-hit in times of high unemployment because they often lack work experience, have little seniority and are considered more expendable as they do not usually support dependants" (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985:8). In Alberta, during the fourth quarter of 1985/86, youths between 15 and 24 years of age had an unemployment rate of 15.7% while the over 25 age group's rate (7.8%) was less than half that (See Table 2). For workers over 55 years of age, the threat of unemployment is increasing despite the fact that they possess attributes (such as extensive work experience, seniority in the workplace and dependents) that would normally ensure job security. Unemployment for this group increased to 8.3% in 1984 from rates too small to report prior to 1983 (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985:8). In addition, older unemployed workers experience greater difficulty finding re-employment.

Table 2

Unemployment Rate for Alberta by Age and Gender

Fourth Quarter 85/86
(Source: Alberta Labour Market Review)

Age(Years)		Rate(%)
15+	**Total**	**9.6**
	Male	10.1
	Female	8.8
15-24	**Total**	**15.7**
	Male	17.7
	Female	13.4
25+	**Total**	**7.8**
	Male	8.2
	Female	7.3

Another demographic variable relating to the unequal distribution of unemployment over society is gender. Males, particularly young males, are presently more likely to experience unemployment. During the fourth quarter of 1985/86, the unemployment rate for Albertan men between the ages of 15 and 24 years was 17.7% - more than four percentage points higher than for women in this age group and more than eight percentage points higher than the rate for all ages (See Table 2).

Unemployment rates also vary according to type of industry and occupational group. In general, blue-collar unemployment exceeds white- collar unemployment. The fields of agriculture, forestry, logging, manufacturing, and construction have been the hardest hit in recent years, although there has been increasing concern directed towards white-collar occupations (C.M.H.A., 1983).

Another comparison, closely related to looking at the distinction between white and blue collar occupations, is educational level. As level of education increases, the level of

unemployment decreases (Table 3). Of special note is the fact that, although the unemployment rate for those with university degrees in April, 1985 was much lower at 5.3% than any of the other education groupings, prior to 1982 the number of unemployed from this group was too small to report (Social Planning Council, 1985).

Table 3

Unemployment for Alberta by Level of Education

April,1985 Estimates
(Source: Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985:14)

0 - 8 years	16.7%
High School	14.4%
Some Post-Secondary	8.0%
Post-Secondary Diploma and Certificate	8.2%
University Degree	5.3%

To summarize the discussion above with respect to socio-economic measures, it can be said that the unemployed in Alberta are primarily made up of men between the ages of 15 and 24 years, who live in high unemployment Economic Regions,who identify themselves as blue-collar workers and who have attained a level of education of fewer than eight years. However, these measures alone do not paint a complete picture of unemployment in Alberta.

The state of unemployment occurs over time for individuals and their families and its duration becomes a necessary consideration when examining its magnitude as well as its effect. During the second quarter of 1985/86, the average duration of unemployment for Albertans was 18.7 weeks as compared to 21.3 weeks for Canada as a whole (See Table 4). This length of joblessness has increased markedly from the average for Alberta in 1981, of 6.9 weeks. In May, 1984, the Edmonton Sunday Sun ran a four-week series of free

advertisements for unemployed people interested in finding work. One of the pieces of information included in the job "applicants" advertisement was how long he or she had been unemployed. The results of a sample of 108 of the job seekers featured in the May 20 issue showed that the average length of reported unemployment for those job seekers was 12.3 months! (Table 5).

Although these particular figures may be unrepresentative and inflated, it is clear that in terms of the magnitude of unemployment - its official rate, its hidden members, its unequal distribution over society and its duration - Alberta has experienced a major upheaval since about 1982. Major upheaval also occurs on an individual basis for the unemployed and their families. The following section will outline the experience of unemployment.

Table 4

Duration of Unemployment for Alberta and Canada

Second Quarter 85/86
(Source: Alberta Labour Market Review)

	ALBERTA	CANADA
Total Unemployed	**114,000**	**1,236,000**
Percent Who Were Unemployed:		
4 weeks or less	32.2	29.5
5 -13 weeks	25.4	25.6
14+ weeks	37.7	41.8
Other	--	3.0
Average Duration (weeks)	18.7	21.3

Table 5

Duration of Unemployment for Edmonton Sun Job 'Applicants'

(Source: Edmonton Sun, May 20, 1984)

Duration of Unemployment	Number	Percent
1 month	6	5.5
2 months	5	4.6
3 months	1	.9
4 months	9	8.3
5 months	7	6.5
6 months	9	8.3
7 months	2	1.9
8 months	6	5.5
9 months	6	5.5
10 months	4	3.7
11 months	5	4.6
12 months	19	17.6
15 months	3	2.8
16 months	1	.9
17 months	1	.9
18 months	9	8.3
24 months	10	9.3
30 months	1	.9
36 months	1	.9
48 months	1	.9
5 years	1	.9
10 years	1	.9
Total	**108**	**99.6**

Average Duration of Unemployment (excluding 5 and 10 yr. responses) **12.3 months**

The Experience of Unemployment

Prior to the Depression, the experience of unemployment was not distinguished from that of poverty. Thus, as a field of sociological and psychological enquiry in its own right, unemployment has had a short history spanning only the last 50 years or so (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985; Jahoda, 1982). However, although it is a new area of interest, the social-psychological study of unemployment has already shown an interesting pattern of development, with the types of research questions asked and approaches used linked closely to the rise and fall in unemployment rates. The beginning of the academic separation of unemployment from poverty stemmed from a desire to understand the experience of unemployment during the Depression of the 1930's, when unemployment rates were extremely high and unemployment was an experience of 'ordinary' men (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985). Two of the classic studies of the unemployed at this time were carried out by Bakke (1939) and the Pilgrim Trust (1938), both of which provided detailed accounts of the deleterious effects of unemployment on men and their families in England, as distinct from the deleterious effects of poverty on the working poor.

Following the Depression, unemployment rates declined and unemployment was seen to be due primarily to the shortcomings of those people who were unemployed. A 1970 text entitled The Unemployed: A Social Psychological Portrait (Tiffany, et al) viewed the unemployed as suffering from a number of psychological and social problems that prevented them from finding and keeping jobs. Examinations such as this were characteristic of the psychological study of unemployment from 1950 to 1970 when unemployment rates were low.

> Inasmuch as there is a psychological literature concerning unemployment over this period, it is predominantly a literature on 'programmes' for the 'hard core' unemployed, for the 'hard-to-employ', for the virtually 'unemployable' (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985:15).

Today's social-psychological portraits of the unemployed are more likely to be descriptions of the experience of unemployment and its psychological consequences. "When unemployment is high, psychological research (and the literature based on it) is primarily concerned with the psychological effects of unemployment on the ordinary person ..." (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985:15). Further, the cause of unemployment is more likely to be seen as emanating from the shortcomings of our economic and social structures rather than from the shortcomings of unemployed individuals.

Whatever its rate, the public (and to some extent the scientific) view of unemployment has been essentially negative. This negative view begins with beliefs that are held regarding the effects unemployment has on the rest of the community. "Unemployment, both historically and contemporaneously, is viewed in a totally negative way, the unemployed being a burden on the rest of the employed workforce" (Smith and Simpkins, 1980:55). Despite high unemployment rates and a positive shift in media attention showing " ... more concern with the plight of those bereft of work, and [reporting] their predicament ... in terms which portray this concern rather than in terms of criticism and censure" (Hayes and Nutman,1981:5), it is difficult for the public to shake its perception of the unemployed as holidaying at the expense of the rest of society who have to work for a living. Thus, in this public view, the unemployed themselves are perceived as negatively and unfairly taking from society. Public policy embodies this concern in the form of stringent job search requirements for individuals drawing unemployment insurance benefits and social assistance.

Even sympathetic studies that 'count the costs' of unemployment and view the unemployed as its victims, regard unemployment as having deleterious effects on the rest of society (eg. C.M.H.A.,1983; Krahn, et al, 1985; Edmonton Social Planning Council

1985, 1986). The unemployed and high unemployment are often seen to be affecting the rest of society negatively, albeit through no fault of the unemployed themselves.

Unemployment is often seen as having negative effects at an individual level as well. The unemployed and their families are viewed as being afflicted with a debilitating condition that causes a great deal of suffering. Thus, there appears to be a polarization of popular opinion concerning the unemployed. They are seen as either 'holidaying' at the expense of those who are compelled to work or 'suffering' at their own expense.

Although elements of the 'suffering' and 'holidaying' stereotypes may exist, a closer examination of the social-psychological effects of unemployment shows that neither represents a complete and accurate picture. The unemployed generally go through a series of distinct stages following job loss (not unlike the stages associated with any major loss) and much of the current writing in this area has focussed on describing these stages. Prior to looking at these stages, however, it is necessary to look more closely at the benefits of employment which are lost along with the job.

The loss most often associated with unemployment is loss of income. "For the vast majority of people, unemployment results in a substantial reduction in income and means an inevitable decline in their standard of living" (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985:20). Add to this the loss of employee benefits, such as pension, dental and medical plans, and we have a group of people who may be severely impoverished, particularly in cases of prolonged unemployment. "The financial hardship which accompanies unemployment is clearly at the root of many other problems for individuals and families as the loss of a stable and sufficient income leads to increased anxiety" (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985:21).

However, to focus only on lost income is to exclude the losses relating to the latent benefits of work. Personal identity and status, time structure, social contacts, enforced

activity, creativity and skills, sense of purpose and financial self-sufficiency are some of the more salient losses (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985; Jahoda, 1981; Fagin and Little, 1984; Smith and Simpkins,1980; and Hayes and Nutman, 1981). The loss of these latent benefits of work make the experience of unemployment different from the experience of the working poor. For the unemployed, the devastating effects of poverty are exacerbated by the lack of being located in a network of relationships and functions, of being a part of a system of expectations and of having a daily rhythm (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985).

Many models have been developed in an effort to understand the response of the unemployed to their losses over time. Most of the models describe the experience of prolonged unemployment as a series of emotional highs and lows, or in Borgen and Amundson's words a 'roller coaster ride' (1984). Fortin, in his "Dynamics of Unemployment" (1984) includes aspects of many of these models assembled into a fairly simple, yet complete, description of the stages of unemployment. To begin, he divides the unemployment experience into two broad phases: the phase of job loss and the phase of job search.

The job loss phase begins "not when the employee ceases to hold his job but when he is informed of or begins to anticipate that loss"(p.6). This phase is characterized by a state of high tension and/or shock. Following the actual event, individuals often experience "... a sense of disorientation and confusion, feeling 'at a loss', and an inability to plan for the future" (Fagin and Little, 1984:40). Borgen and Amundson (1984), in a study of unemployed persons in the Greater Vancouver area, found that they could further break down this job loss phase into five stages: denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance (after the Kubler-Ross model of grieving). Upon hearing of impending layoffs, the individuals in their study often denied that 'it could happen to them' and continued

working as if nothing was wrong. Once the individual realizes that he or she will be one of the workers to lose his or her job, a period of anger takes over. This anger may be directed at oneself, at one's co-workers, at one's employer, at the situation in general, or at any grouping of these. This anger later turns to bargaining. The individual berates himself or herself for past behaviour (such as being late) and tries to think of ways to bargain to keep the job (such as taking a cut in pay or another position). At this point, when the above reactions have failed to prevent the loss of the job, the individual may sink into a depression. At some point, either before or after he or she has actually been laid off, the individual comes to accept the fact that this particular job has been lost. Accepting that the job is finished marks the beginning of the job search phase, which Fortin has divided into five distinct stages: hope, anxiety, distress, discouragement, and resignation.

The hope stage is characterized by a high level of aspiration. The individual feels very optimistic about job prospects and actively looks for work. According to the C.M.H.A. report, this active search for work is based upon three beliefs or assumptions held by the unemployed in the early stages: "finding a job is a highly valued goal; applying for a job is an essential factor toward getting one; and, applying for a job will definitely lead to one" (1983:9). The newly unemployed is very flexible during this stage and is willing to consider any type of work relating to his or her area of expertise. The individual does not perceive himself or herself as being unemployed but, rather, maintains a personal identity based on profession or area of competency.

Some writers feel that this active job seeking stage is actually preceded by a 'holiday' (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985) or 'relaxation' (Powell and Driscoll, 1973) stage. The implications of this are significant when discussing the leisure of the unemployed. During this stage the unemployed sees the state of unemployment as being temporary and finds this newly-found free time quite enjoyable, filled with relaxation and recreational activities.

Some derive satisfaction from greater involvement with home and self improvement. Often, during the holiday stage, a person will respond to a recent job loss by taking a holiday, delaying claiming benefits, going on a spending spree or waiting to be recalled to the former job, all rather than looking for a new job. To others around him or her, these activities may appear irrational. However, in actual fact they provide a psychological defense for the individual allowing a person to feel and act as though nothing were wrong (C. M. H. A., 1983).

The second stage in Fortin's job search phase is anxiety. "When the period of unemployment is longer than expected and opportunities turn out to be fewer than anticipated, the confidence of the initial stage is lost" and is replaced by the agitation, anxiety and frustration of the second stage. The unemployed person now lowers his or her expectations and applies for jobs that pay less and are below his or her qualifications. A career change or a return to school is often considered, but rarely carried through. Individuals during this stage may become reliant on drugs and alcohol to deal with anxiety, and family relationships may begin to deteriorate (C.M.H.A., 1983). A tendency towards moodiness and aggression which may be suppressed internally or directed outward is learned (Fortin, 1984).

As the period of unemployment continues, the unemployed person has more and more doubts about the prospects of finding a job. Repeated rejections may cause psychological dissonance for some, in that the beliefs they held upon which the job search is based conflict with each other in the face of the reality of the job market. In other words, they still desire to find work and know that they must apply for jobs in order to obtain employment, but application has become an essentially futile activity (C. M. H. A., 1983, Hayes and Nutman, 1981). All possible avenues of employment have been exhausted and the individual enters into Fortin's distress stage, which gradually turns into

discouragement. These stages are characterized by irritability with, and isolation from, friends and family. Intense periods of job search alternate with periods of inactivity. The original enthusiasm to find work has disappeared and often the distressed and discouraged unemployed keeps up the search for work only to relieve boredom. At this stage, an individual begins to doubt his or her self worth. He or she feels inferior to, and alienated from, former colleagues.

Gradually, over time, emotions stabilize - anxiety dissipates, despair loses its intensity and the unemployed person starts to tolerate the situation. This marks the beginning of the resignation stage, where a person identifies himself or herself as unemployed. The individual's energy level is very low at this point and the search for work is virtually abandoned. There is a shift in feelings of control from internal to external (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985:53) as the person perceives little influence over the material situation and over professional life. "He has adopted a new way of life and avoids anything that could lead him to change it" (Fortin, 1984:7). To some, this is the stage called "chronic unemployment".

As can be seen from the discussion of the stages above, unemployment is not unlike the stages of emotional response that follow any traumatic loss. The course following job loss can, however, be mediated (either positively or negatively) by a several factors. The following section summarizes these factors and their effects.

Mediating Factors

The first mediating factor may be defined as the degree of economic or financial hardship encountered. When looking at this as a mediating factor it may be said the greater the economic deprivation, the greater the psychological distress as evidenced by concern and anxiety about financial and other matters, depression, and negative attitudes toward

unemployment (Fortin, 1984). Adequate alternative sources of income (from U.I.C. to black market work), as well as financial reserves, a positive credit rating, favorable severance pay, few dependents and a spouse with a well-paying job can help cushion the financial strain (Parker, 1983; Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985; C.M.H.A.,1983; Fortin, 1984; Fagin and Little, 1981).

The second mediating factor has to do with work commitment. How one feels about work can affect how one experiences unemployment. In general, the greater the commitment to work, the greater the psychological distress. Hence, a low commitment to work can act as a mediating factor. From interviews they conducted with forty unemployed men and women in the Leeds/Bradford area of England, Hayes and Nutman reported that "... those who evidenced low satisfaction with their previous job were most likely to have a positive attitude to job loss" (1981:52). This conclusion may seem self-evident. However, job satisfaction, or attitude to work, and the resulting effect this has upon the experience of unemployment can be fairly complex.

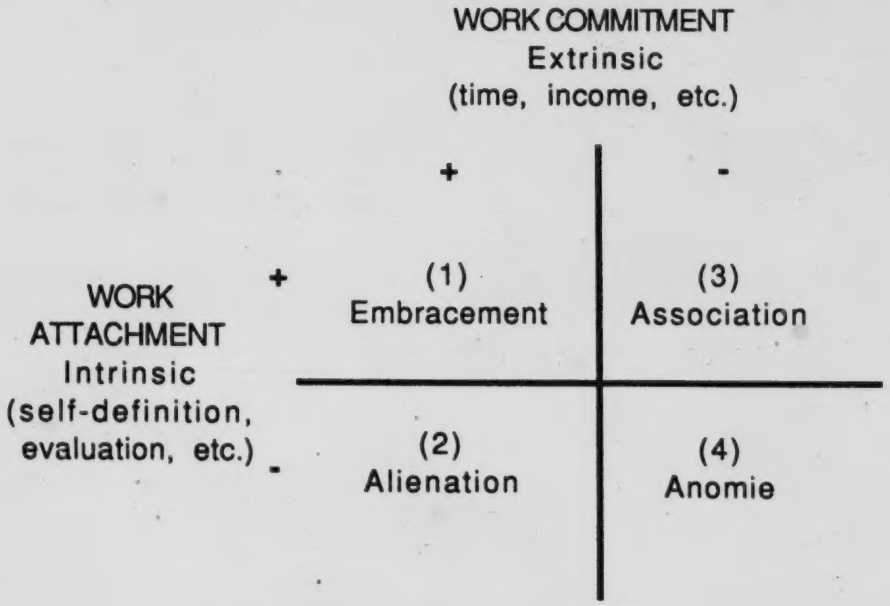
Smith and Simpkins (1980) proposed a model for orientation to work which, they felt, would aid in understanding the complex relationships between an individual's orientation to work and the subsequent impact upon an unemployment experience - particularly in the areas of interpretation and use of free time, as well as general life style. The starting point for Smith and Simpkins was an assumption of the dominance of the work ethic, or work centrality, which they divided along two dimensions: Work Commitment and Work Attachment. Work Commitment refers to those aspects of work that are extrinsic and made up of social structural commitments (eg. time and income) which lock people into work roles. The intrinsic or psychological importance that the individual attributes to work, such as self definition and evaluation, provides the attachment to work roles, hence "Work Attachment". An individual's orientation to work is seen as an

interaction between the positive or negative value the placed upon the extrinsic aspects of work and the positive or negative value placed upon the intrinsic aspects. These interactions fall into a two by two table with the following interaction types: (1) Embracement; (2) Alienation; (3) Association; and (4) Anomie. Figure 2 is based upon this model but has been adapted in the following ways: addition of a title; change of the position of the cells to reflect a more conventional four-celled presentation; and addition of the words 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic'.

Figure 2

A Model for Orientation to Work

(After Smith and Simpkins, 1980[1])



An individual who places positive value on both the attachment and commitment dimensions of work is said to Embrace work [cell (1)]. This person is . . .

> locked into work by objective structural factors, particularly time and income constraints, and work is meaningful and a fundamental source of self definition and evaluation ... [Becoming] workless destroys both the central source of self-definition and poses acute financial and time organization problems (p.34).

The second cell in Smith and Simpkins model is called Alienation. A person who is alienated from work is committed to its time and income constraints, but does not recognize it as a significant source of self definition and evaluation: that is, work has no intrinsic value. For the alienated worker, "... becoming workless does not destroy the basis for self definition, but the person is subject to major [financial and temporal] constraints which become more compelling with unemployment" (p. 34).

The third relationship, Association, occurs when an individual holds a positive value for the intrinsic (attachment) aspects of work, but a negative value for its extrinsic (commitment) functions. An individual belonging to this category may have a flexible job with an income that was perhaps considered supplementary. Such an individual, upon losing the job, experiences losses which are primarily psychological. "The sociability of work and the centrality to the self of a particular skill or status, means that unemployment is acutely experienced as an attack upon individual self worth" (p.35).

Anomie is the fourth and final relationship between the values held toward the intrinsic and extrinsic functions of work. The anomic unemployed person

> "... may well be one who can cope most adequately with the unemployment experience. Their major reference group may already be elsewhere, other than in work, and to follow the paradigm, they may not be under any particular time or income restraints (p.35).

In order for orientation to work to be considered as a mediating factor in the unemployment experience, a negative value must exist with regard to at least one of the dimensions proposed by Smith and Simpkins. Alienated, associated and, especially, anomic individuals as defined by this model may deviate from the 'normal' pattern of unemployment.

Although the model has yet to be tested empirically, some indirect support for it may be found in Roberts, Noble and Duggan's study of youth unemployment in inner city areas of high unemployment in Britain (1982). Five hundred and fifty one 16-to-20 year-olds were interviewed, from 1979 to 1981, in Liverpool, London, Manchester and Wolverhampton in an effort to "... discover what a 25 or 40% level of unemployment means in terms of the career trajectories awaiting school leavers, and to learn how the individuals directly affected respond" (p.172). The researchers found that many of the youths did not fit the stereotype of the unemployed with 'sagging morale' and 'tattered self concepts'. Much of the unemployment was self imposed - the majority of the unemployment episodes were precipitated by voluntary job departures. As well, very few of the youths were 'strenuous job hunters'. Only a minority looked for work on a regular basis and some even refused jobs offered by employment service staff. Although none actually enjoyed their unemployment, they did not experience problems with social isolation and loss of self respect, but rather with boredom and lack of money.

In terms of Smith and Simpkins' paradigm, these youths may be seen as alienated or perhaps anomic. Some youths who voluntarily opt in and out of the work force hold a negative value toward the attachment dimension of work.

> They regard their officially permanent jobs as temporary. Rather than enjoying the conferred identities, many young 'drifters' feel it necessary to distance their real 'selves from their occupations. There are other statuses to which some can turn (Roberts, et al, 1982:175).

In addition, some youths displayed a negative or perhaps indifferent value towards the commitment dimension of work. "They certainly hesitate before accepting jobs where the wages less travelling and other costs hardly exceed social security entitlement" (p. 174). Further "the welfare state is now taken for granted [and] many families are able to support the young jobless" (p.175).

The third mediating factor is social class. "While some findings suggest that 'the higher the climb, the harder the fall', others conclude that being middle-class provides somewhat of a buffer from the ill effects of unemployment" (C.M.H.A.,1983:20). It is suggested that the middle class is seen to possess a number of attributes which can act as cushions to the negative experience of unemployment.

First, middle class members often have educational resources and professional training that allows flexibility in the job search. The numbers and types of jobs available are greater, in terms of both parallel positions and jobs that may be slightly downward in mobility. Some of the respondents in the Hayes and Nutman study (1981) who had held professional positions found job loss an opportunity for a career change or break.

Secondly, middle class people are also likely to have some of the characteristics that help mediate the financial restraints of unemployment, such as financial reserves accumulated during previous years, a good credit rating, and a spouse with (potentially) relatively high earning power that can supplement family income . In addition, individuals in the middle class may have easier access to the helping professions, such as job counsellors and therapists, as well as ancillary interests, such as hobbies and leisure pursuits ,that can enhance their adaptability to the personal crisis of unemployment (C.M.H.A., 1983:20).

In contrast to this, blue collar workers will likely have less control over decisions regarding layoffs, little notification of it and resulting economic destitution which makes

them more likely to have an "extremely unpleasant experience of unemployment" (Hepworth, 1980).

Another factor that has been described as potentially mediating on the experience of unemployment is social support and relationships with others. Support can be categorized in many ways. It includes informal support available from family, friends, clergy, neighbours, and the like, as well as formal support through counselling and social services. As well, support can be divided into social and physical support. Social support has three components: emotional support (that leads people to feel cared for or loved), esteem support (that leads people to feel esteemed and valued), and network support (that leads people to feel that they have a defined position in a social network). Physical support, or direct care for physical maintenance, includes material support (goods and services), and psychological support (counselling or psychotherapy) (C.M.H.A., 1984:15).

There is some evidence that social support can help mediate the effects of unemployment. In a study of the effects of social support in moderating the physical and psychological consequences of involuntary job loss for blue-collar employees, Gore found that social support modified the severity of psychological and health-related responses to unemployment (1978). As well, Fortin, in his review of the research in this area, concluded that emotional support from family and friends acts as a buffer against physical problems, stress-related medical conditions, depression, feelings of isolation, decreased levels of activity and outside interaction, as well as self-blame (Fortin, 1984).

The social support that one receives can be enhanced by positive societal attitudes towards unemployment. For example, Hayes and Nutman commented that positive publicity on the magnitude of the problem of unemployment contributes to social (both formal and informal) support which, in turn, can act as a mediating factor (1981:52).

However, it should be recognized that not all formal support networks aid the individual in coping with unemployment. Social service bureaucracies can actually contribute to a negative experience. "Line-ups", complex and disheartening administrative procedures, and negative attitudes toward the unemployed are all aspects of a 'dehumanizing bureaucracy' which reinforce the unemployed's negative self perception (Braginsky and Braginsky, 1975). That this need not be the case is almost self-evident, but often difficult to acknowledge. 'Humanistic' social service bureaucracies and procedures can enhance feelings of belonging and self worth for the unemployed and can help mediate the negative effects of long term unemployment.

A fifth factor that can mitigate some of the negative experience of unemployment is the ability to fill the abundant free time with meaningful activities. Ability in this area not only includes the actual skill involved, but also a propensity to fill time, as well as the opportunity to undertake free time activities (Hayes and Nutman, 1981). As previously noted, the hobbies and leisure pursuits in which the middle class are more likely to partake help them adapt. The benefit of these activities lies in their potential to channel mental and physical energy and to structure time, as well as to provide interaction with others. Leisure as a mediating factor will be discussed more fully in a later chapter under the heading "Unemployment and Leisure".

Other mediating factors have been cited as having an effect on the 'normal' trajectory of unemployment. They include: the individual's attribution of blame for being unemployed (self versus 'the system'); a person's perception of society's attitude to joblessness; one's state of health; one's sense of self-worth; one's ability to handle loss; the age and stage of the family; one's skill level (work and other-related); and, one's educational level. Objective factors - such as the reason for job loss (e.g. layoff versus personal reasons), the reality of job options available and the chances of being granted job

interviews - may have additional effects on the experience of unemployment (C.M.H.A.1983:15-22).

The Families of the Unemployed

The discussion to this point, has focussed on unemployment as an experience for the individual, overlooking the impacts it has on the family as a whole. The latter effects have been described in both negative and positive terms. Kelvin and Jarrett (1985) explain this dichotomy by concluding that "... the frustrations and tensions of being unemployed add to, rather than change, the fundamental patterns of pre-existing relationships ..." (1985:59). In other words, if family relationships have been good in the past, then the unemployment of one or more members can actually bring family members closer together. Conversely, if the family relationships have been shaky, then the loss of employment intensifies these problems. Thus, for some families, unemployment can actually enrich family life through increased time together, freedom from work-related tensions, increased cohesion, and opportunities for family members to pursue other roles and interests (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985). However, these benefits are generally experienced only by some and occur only during the initial stages. For most families, loss of employment, particularly if it is the major "breadwinner's" employment, can precipitate a family crisis.

Economic deprivation, changes in family roles, loss of status (of the unemployed family member as well as of the whole family), adjustment to more frequent contact, and changes in the family's relationship with the outside world are some of the changes to which a family must adjust (Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985). This adjustment (or maladjustment) can magnify problems within the home which may ultimately result in marital instability and even child abuse and neglect (Cottle, 1979).

The observations that have been made to this point have emphasized the range of impacts that unemployment has. Unemployment means major losses and changes for the individual and the family which mark the beginning of an emotional upheaval. Without mediating factors, such as financial security, meaningful activity, and supportive family and friends, this experience worsens over time as the individual searches unsuccessfully for work. But what is known about the leisure of the unemployed?

CHAPTER 4. UNEMPLOYMENT AND LEISURE

Introduction

The discussion of unemployment and leisure will be undertaken in three parts. First, the question "Is unemployment leisure?" will be addressed from both a practical and philosophical point of view. Second, the area of leisure for the unemployed, which flows from leisure's apparent value as a mediating factor, will be considered. Finally, the leisure pursuits of the unemployed will be examined in detail.

Is Unemployment Leisure?

There is a general consensus among writers in the field that unemployment is not leisure. As expressed by Parker, "although one of the main effects of being unemployed is a substantial increase in the amount of free time at the individual's disposal, this can hardly be construed as leisure" (1983:68). This may seem obvious to anyone who has observed the negative effects of unemployment. However, the arguments in favour of this view run deeper than the simple fact that leisure is enjoyable while unemployment is not. First, the unemployed by and large do not engage in many activities that would generally be considered as leisure. Unemployment, particularly in the latter stages, is characterized by boredom, social isolation and inactivity, characteristics not usually associated with leisure.

Second, even if the unemployed were not handicapped by the psychological problems associated with unemployment that can ultimately lead to lack of motivation, there are financial restrictions that can severely limit their leisure pursuits. "Most studies indicate that the person begins by using up savings, then reduces or eliminates, one by one, expenses considered non-essential, particularly those related to recreational and social activities" (Fortin, 1984:8). Leisure participation can often be expensive including not only actual programme or participation costs, but also concomitant expenses, such as transportation, child care, equipment and clothing. Hence, the unemployed are often

"without access to leisure activities which may involve financial costs" (Rhodes, 1982: 100).

Third, individuals more likely to be unemployed have similar demographic characteristics to those who are less likely to participate in organized leisure activities. This tendency has been discussed by Glyptis with respect to participation in sport. "In social and economic profile terms the missing pieces of the sports participation jigsaw are the 'gaps' principally occupied by the unemployed" (Glyptis, 1983:291). More specifically, the British Sports Council identified the age groups, 13 to 24 years and 45 to 59 years, as target groups for sports promotion because they represent the

> groups most likely to abandon or avoid sport in the course of adjusting to school leaving and impending retirement. These same age groups are, of course, the respective mainstays of the unemployed flow and stock... (Glyptis, 1983:291-292).

Social class has also been identified as relating to sport participation. Occupational groups such as skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual participate in sport to a lesser degree than people in other occupations (Glyptis, 1983). Once again, it is these same occupational groups that have traditionally been over-represented in the ranks of the unemployed.

Other characteristics that may be associated with unemployment (especially youth unemployment) also may act as barriers to leisure participation.

> [Young] people having left school at the earliest opportunity without qualifications, who are from disadvantaged families, living in inner cities and with behavioural problems (either apathy or aggression) are less likely to engage in a variety of leisure activities and in particular are less likely to use publicly provided facilities for recreation (Willis, 1983:4).

Psychological, financial and social barriers are not the only reasons the unemployed may be less likely to participate in recreational activities. There are further barriers to participation which relate to societal attitudes towards work and leisure. The first relevant attitude towards work is its centrality in terms of daily life. Work organizes

our daily rhythm, setting the patterns of life including, family and leisure. The prolonged loss of paid employment is accompanied by an inability to organize one's daily existence - the individual simply does not know how to occupy his or her time or to determine when leisure should fit in. Even in the first hopeful stages of unemployment, where individuals are relatively energetic, leisure activities "frequently take on the moral and organisational character of work. Do-it-yourself activities in various forms are often part of the individual's attempt to adjust to the re-organisation of daily life without paid employment" (Smith and Simpkins, 1980:26).

Leisure to many is simply a respite from work. Some feel that without work there can be no leisure, that the concept is meaningless. Once again, even the most 'leisureful' stage of unemployment that immediately follows job loss is enjoyed only in relation to work. At this stage the individual sees his/her situation as temporary, as a holiday from work. With prolonged unemployment, there is nothing against which to balance leisure.

Work's centrality also gives leisure its value. "Leisure is still seen as a reward for paid employment. To be unemployed is, in some respects, to be denied the right to leisure" (Smith and Simpkins, 1980:38). Further, it is very difficult for those who are still employed to 'allow' the unemployed some enjoyment. There is the fear that enjoyable unemployment at the state's expense will produce a large group of 'scroungers' and 'cheats' (Rhodes, 1982).

Closely related to the notion of the centrality of work is the sense of personal identity that is gained from employment or occupation. This affects leisure participation in at least two ways. The first way stems from the tendency for unemployment to be characterised as a deviant social status. Once this deviant status becomes established and reinforced as part of the unemployed person's identity, it makes it difficult for him or her to participate in leisure activities on equal terms with the majority of employed men and women (Parker,1983).

Secondly, the close ties between personal identity and work affects the types of leisure activities in which the unemployed participate. Hayes and Nutman (1981) see the considerable time spent on gardening, painting, home repair, decorating and helping others as evidence of attempts to retain one's image as a worker.

From a definitional standpoint, a commonly held notion of leisure emphasizes perceived choice or perceived freedom as its defining characteristic (see for example, Neulinger, 1974). The idea that leisure can be enforced, as in the case of unemployment, is contradictory - that is, by definition, enforced leisure cannot be leisure (Stockdale, 1982).

It is evident that the experience of unemployment for most individuals is not one of leisure. The very same demographic characteristics that correlate with non-participation also correlate with unemployment. Psychological barriers, such as lack of motivation and self-imposed social isolation, financial barriers, and societal attitudes towards work and leisure, discourage the unemployed from participating. However, as introduced briefly in the discussion of the mediating factors of unemployment, leisure has been purported to play a part in lessening its negative effects which provides the rationale for the consideration of leisure for the unemployed.

Leisure for the Unemployed

There appear to be two different streams of thought and practice in the field of leisure for the unemployed. Both relate directly to the mediating factor of "ability to organize free time" outlined briefly in the section on "Mediating Factors". The first perspective starts with the premise that leisure can help buffer some of unemployment's negative psychological and physiological effects; ie, boredom, social isolation and inactivity. Activities that channel mental and physical energy, provide time structure, and require interaction with others are seen as essential. This view focuses on the provision of

special, direct programmes (primarily sport or fitness related) and on concessions that can and should be made for the unemployed in order to allow them to participate in 'regular' community programmes. The second school of thought advocates a slightly different and more long-term function of leisure for the unemployed. Meaningful leisure opportunities are seen to have potential for fulfilling the latent benefits of paid employment, thus, providing the unemployed with a sense of purpose. Proponents of this role for leisure also support wide-sweeping changes in societal attitudes towards employment, unemployment and leisure.

Little empirical work has been done to test the mediating effects of meaningful leisure activities on the experience of unemployment, even though assumptions of their value form the basis for recreation schemes for the unemployed. Such schemes date back to the 1930's and, as explained by Steiner, were based on the perceived or assumed moral value of recreation.

> Significant efforts to deal with [the 'demoralizing effect of leisure (time) forced upon individuals] were made during the depression through the establishment on an extensive scale of leisure time programs planned specifically for the unemployed" (1972:25).

These Depression-time efforts have their modern counterparts as exemplified by the provision of sport and recreation schemes for the unemployed in Britain. Glyptis (1983) described three projects launched by the English Sports Council in 1981, which were to provide sports and recreation in areas of high unemployment on a three-year trial basis. These schemes have been monitored and evaluated extensively (cf. Kay, 1983; Donkin, 1983; and Glyptis and Kay, 1986). However, effectiveness has been measured by participation rates and participant commitment to programmes rather than by the degree to which leisure activities have mediated (or not mediated) the negative effects of unemployment. Therefore, it is not known if these recreational activities have helped individuals cope with the experience of unemployment.

Government and agency support toward leisure for the unemployed takes forms other than direct programmes. Riddington (1982, as described in Glyptis, 1983) surveyed the local authorities in England and Wales to determine the extent and types of sport and recreation schemes provided for the unemployed. Table 6 summarizes the results of the 285 responding authorities. Once again, there has been little, if any, evaluation of the effectiveness of these schemes as mediating factors. Thus, conclusions cannot be made about whether or not they help alleviate the problems of unemployment.

Table 6

Sport and Recreation Schemes for the Unemployed in England and Wales

(Source: Riddington, 1982 in Glyptis, 1983)
N = 285

No provision	38%
Off-peak reduced rates for all	8%
Concessionary rates for the unemployed	43%
Concession card/leisure pass ("club" atmosphere)	5%
Sports leadership and motivation (more tailored opportunities)	5%

Most of the little empirical research in existence on the effect of leisure on the experience of unemployment relates to the area of sport and exercise. Fasting and Grønningsæter (1985), in a project designed to empirically test the assertion that exercise is healthy from a physical, psychological and social point of view, looked at the influence of long-term (three month) physical exercise on the anxiety of a group of unemployed in Odense, Denmark. There are several findings stemming from this research that are of

particular note. The first is that exercise did indeed lead to a significant reduction in anxiety and an improvement in physical fitness for the group engaged in regular, long-term exercise. Fasting and Grønningsæter felt that this was due not only to the physiological benefits of exercise and fitness, but also to the psychological benefits obtained, such as improvement in self-esteem, self-image, and self-confidence and the resultant feelings of mastery over self.

There were other features of their exercise programme that Fasting and Grønningsæter saw as contributing positively to the well-being of their subjects. The non-competitive atmosphere; individualization of activities based upon participants' skill levels; encouragement of participants' input into the choices of activities; feeling of 'group'; emphasis on fun; and, opportunities for socializing before, during and after the exercise sessions, all played a part in the reduction of stress for the participants [Fasting and Grønningsæter, 1985:11-12 and Fasting, 1986(a)]. Thus, Fasting and Grønningsæter have provided some evidence that organized physical exercise can mitigate some of the problems of the unemployed.

In Edmonton, the Y.M.C.A. operates a recreation programme designed to give the unemployed a chance to 'drop in' to use their fitness facilities free of charge as well as to participate in structured exercises and games, informal socializing, educational seminars and recreational outings. This programme has other features described as beneficial in the Fasting and Grønningsæter exercise study, such as, a non-competitive, fun atmosphere and participant input into the choices of activities (Colquhoun,1986).

It appears that many of the participants find this programme beneficial in helping them cope with the problems associated with unemployment. One of the original participants, who has since found a job, stated that the physical activity invigorated him and gave him a chance to get out of the house and be with others. His volunteer involvement in

the initial stages of the programme as a member of the planning committee and later on as an instructor in the programme, added to his satisfaction (MacDonald,1986).

The discussion so far has focussed on the first perspective concerning leisure for the unemployed - its rationale as well as its extent and its effectiveness. Some writers feel this view focuses on short term goals and ignores the potential leisure has for providing the unemployed with some of the latent benefits of work which may add meaning and purpose to their lives.

Stokes (1983) is one of the strongest advocates of the view that leisure has potential for providing some of the latent benefits of work that are unavailable to the unemployed. These non-monetary benefits include such things as social status, purposeful time structure, personal identity, self worth, goal attainment, social relationships, creativity and societal approval. Before this is possible, however, Stokes feels that society should "develop a philosophical re-appreciation of employment which extends the traditional concept of work by placing value on constructive leisure and educational pursuits [and] household activities" (1983:279). By constructive leisure he means serious, structured activity that allows people to "develop their potential and feel as if they are making a contribution to society" (p.280). More specifically,

> "participation in voluntary activities to help the aged, sick, handicapped and disadvantaged; working in the community to discover or restore the natural or man-made environment; the creation of co-operative enterprises to use discarded skills in the production and manufacture of crafts; involvement in local theatre and art groups; finding enjoyable pastimes to attain or maintain physical health; and attending further education classes may all provide some of the latent consequences of work" (p.280).

At first glance Stokes' solutions appear to have potential. However, some caution is necessary. Many of them (particularly those relating to volunteering and further education) are only attractive to the middle and upper classes in our society. For example, in his discussion of the volunteers involved in New York State Historic Parks, O'Brien comments,

> groups of volunteers are more likely to evolve in wealthier communities than in areas of high unemployment. In Northern New York, where the unemployed number as much as twenty percent of the population, Crown Point and John Brown [Parks] have, at best, miniscule volunteer programs, while Cazenovia, a well-to-do college community in the central part of the state, has produced volunteer corps that last year gave over two thousand hours to Larenzo [Park] (1983:46).

Blue collar workers are invariably the hardest hit by unemployment. Therefore, advocates of these types of leisure pursuits will have to overcome class biases to make them attractive for the majority of the unemployed. In addition, unemployment insurance regulations often make volunteering and further education grounds for non-funding, as claimants are required to be available and looking for full time employment. The net result is that the unemployed generally do not volunteer.

The Leisure Pursuits of the Unemployed

The leisure of the unemployed is generally characterized by boredom due to an over-abundance of free time and a lack of income. Even activities that were considered to be enjoyable prior to the onset of unemployment quickly become boring when done all day long (Willis, 1983:5). The unemployed do, however, participate in activities which they themselves term leisure or recreation. The discussion which follows, as well as the bulk of this study, addresses the question of how unemployment impacts upon the leisure of the individuals affected.

Some information on the leisure behavior of the unemployed can be gleaned from studies for which leisure is not the primary focus. Research projects conducted in the wake of the Depression, such as those by the Pilgrim Trust (1938) and Bakke (1939), as well as more current accounts (cf. Hill, et al, 1973; Marsden, 1975; Cottle, 1979; Hayes and Nutman,1981; Jahoda,1981 and 1982; and, Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985) discussed, in part, how the unemployed spent their unoccupied time. Some of the cited activities, such as visiting public houses, 'laying about', 'hanging around', doing housework or home

renovations, caring for children, visiting former co-workers and friends, listening to the radio, watching T. V. and reading the newspaper may be seen as leisure pursuits. In general, although these studies did not systematically examine and analyze leisure pursuits as separate life activities, it appears that the leisure pursuits of the unemployed during the Depression were far more seriously diminished than they were during periods of high unemployment subsequent to the 1930's.

Research into the leisure pursuits of the unemployed as the main research question has been very limited to date, in terms of both the actual numbers of studies undertaken and their scope. Again, as with the study of unemployment in general, the literature stems from the experience of the Depression. Steiner, in his review of recreation during this time period stated that "... leisure [which he equates with free time] expanded in a unprecedented manner during this period, while recreational activities were seriously curtailed because of lack of funds" (1972:16). A listing of specific leisure activities was not covered in his review. Steiner focussed upon the provision of public recreation opportunities for those without work during the Depression rather than the actual recreation activities undertaken.

More recently, Pesavento Raymond examined the effects of unemployment on the leisure behaviour of 240 unemployed steelworkers in the Chicago area (1984). Through the use of self-administered questionnaires that required respondents to compare their present leisure behaviors with those prior to job loss, she found that unemployment did indeed impact upon the rate at which they participated as well as upon the activities they chose. When the study's leisure activities were considered in aggregate, she found that the respondents were participating "a little less" (one of her Likert scale categories) in leisure activities than before they had lost their jobs. This overall decline, when examined on an activity by activity basis, was found to consist of the net difference between an small increase in 'home' and 'family' centered activities and a greater decrease in activities which

"tended to be more expensive in nature or those which meant maintaining a 'social front'" (for example - sport, travel and entertainment).

These particular findings are supported by a preliminary report of a British study which examined time use during unemployment (Bunker, et al, 1983). In this research project, 192 unemployed persons from eight different locations in England, representing equal numbers of males and females as well as equal numbers of age groupings, were interviewed to determine how they spent their time as well as how unemployment had impacted upon their use of time. In order of greatest to least change, the following 'at home' activities increased in terms of frequency of participation: housework; watching T. V.; reading; practical hobbies and interests; and games. Activities which could be classified as primarily 'away from home' showed a decrease in participation. In order of greatest to least change, they were: going out for entertainment; playing sport; community activities; social activities; creative pursuits; outdoor activities; and religious activities.

Pesavento Raymond, in her study of unemployed steelworkers, also examined the effects of a number of demographic variables on leisure participation. She found that, as the period of unemployment increased, the overall participation rate in all leisure activities decreased, particularly for 'away from home', 'expensive' or 'moderately expensive' activities. This is consistent with the literature on the debilitating effects of unemployment over time.

Financial support was another demographic variable that had a significant impact upon leisure participation. In accordance with the literature on mediating effects, she found that the respondents in her survey who had 'financial buffers' such as an employed spouse, unemployment compensation, and income from investments, did not decrease their participation rates to the same degree as those without financial support.

Another significant demographic factor was marital status. Respondents who had 'never married' participated more frequently in current leisure activities than did 'married'

and 'formerly married' respondents. Although Pesavento Raymond does not offer any explanation for this, it could be hypothesized that respondents that had 'never married' are less likely to be under the same degree of financial constraint as those who were 'married' or were 'formerly married'. This is supported by the fact that when looking at marital status and its effects upon the leisure expenditure of her respondents, it was found that those who had 'never married' did 'a little more' of the activities which could be classified as 'moderately expensive' or 'expensive' as compared to the 'married' or 'formerly married', who did 'a little less'.

Pesavento Raymond generalized her findings and concluded her research by stating that her study "... indicated that leisure did change with unemployment, yet did not disintegrate as completely as documented during the Depression" (p.64). In short, although unemployment is not leisure, the unemployed do engage in leisure pursuits.

Part III

The Research Study

CHAPTER 5. THE PROBLEM

Problem

The purpose of this study is to explore the differences and similarities between unemployed persons and employed persons in terms of their leisure pursuits and life satisfactions.

Objectives

Four main objectives have been formulated as follows:

1. To compare the unemployed to the employed in terms of their reported life satisfaction in the following areas: non-working activities, family life, health and physical condition, amount of free time, friendships and standard of living and life.

2. To compare the unemployed to the employed in terms of the perceived importance they attribute to their leisure experiences.

3. To compare the unemployed to the employed in terms of the types of leisure pursuits in which they participate and attend.

4. To compare the unemployed to the employed in terms of the frequency with which they participate and attend.

Propositions

Once the objectives had been established, propositions relating to each were developed. These were based upon the literature, and upon intuition where the literature was found to be lacking. There are four propositions, as follows:

1. a) The unemployed will report less satisfaction than employed persons in the following life areas: family life, standard of living, non-working activities, health and physical condition and friendships and life.

b) The relationship between work status (unemployed and employed) and satisfaction with amount of free time available will be inconsistent.

2. The unemployed will perceive leisure pursuits as less important to them than will the employed.

3. The types of leisure pursuits of the unemployed will not differ significantly from those of the employed, except where cost is a significant factor influencing participation.

4. a) The overall frequency of attendance and participation in chosen leisure pursuits will be greater for the unemployed than for the employed.

   b) The frequency of attendance and participation in less costly activities will be greater for the unemployed than for the employed.

Delimitations

The population studied was restricted to the respondents to the 1982 Edmonton Area Study conducted by the Population Research Laboratory of the University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Limitations

Utilizing data from the 1982 Edmonton Area Study may have had any or all of the following limitations:

1. The data and subsequent analysis may not apply to the current situation in Edmonton if circumstances have changed since 1982.

2. The analysis and conclusions may not apply to non-urban areas or to other locales.

3. The questions asked and hence, the data gathered, were for purposes other than those of the current research, which may pose problems with respect to validity.

Definitions

The following definitions were utilized for this study.

Leisure pursuits were defined as undertakings by individuals during their free time. They were operationally defined along three dimensions: type, frequency and importance.

Type of leisure pursuit was divided into two major groups: Group A - "Attendance at Events and Facilities" and Group B - "Participation in Activities" (See Tables 7 and 8). The specific events and facilities and activities were further divided into the sub groups categorized as high expense, moderate expense and low expense/free.

Frequency of leisure pursuit referred to attendance at Group A "Events and Facilities" or participation in Group B "Activities" Attendance was measured in the following way: initially, as a "yes/no" response to having attended a particular event or facility within the last three months; if "yes", the number of times attended, and; if "no", a "yes/no" response to having attended within the past year. Participation was determined in the following manner: as the number of hours in which the individual participated in a particular activity over the previous week; if none, then a "yes/no" response to having participated at all in the past year.

Importance of leisure pursuits described the degree to which an individual viewed his or her recreational or leisure activities as important or unimportant on a seven-point Likert scale.

Unemployed or Unemployment referred to a work status or condition in which an individual was "out of work and looking for work" (E. A. S. 1982 Questionnaire:40). The unemployed were persons who were experiencing the state of unemployment.

Employed respondent referred to an individual who gave the response "Full time" to the question, "Are you presently working full time, part time, going to school, keeping

house or something else?" (E. A. S. 1982 Questionnaire:36). An unemployed respondent was an individual who gave the response "unemployed" to the above question.

Life satisfaction referred to a self-reported rating of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the following life areas: non-working activities; family life; health and physical condition; free time; friendships; standard of living; and overall life. Degree of satisfaction was measured on a seven- point Likert scale, with 7 being very satisfied and 1 being very dissatisfied.

Table 7

Leisure Pursuits: Group A - "Attendance at Events and Facilities"

1. Museum (general, science and technology, historical, maritime museum, etc.)
2. Art gallery or art museum
3. Public library
4. Bookstore
5. Movie shown by a commercial theatre, drive-in, film club, etc.
6. Folk, rock, jazz, or pop music performance or recital
7. Classical music or dance performance or recital (orchestral, concert, opera, ballet, etc.)
8. Sports event as a spectator
9. Live theatre performance (drama, comedy or musical comedy)
10. Art or craft fair or festival
11. Zoo, circus or live animal performance
12. Historical site or cultural centre

Table 8

Leisure Pursuits: Group B - "Participation in Activities"

1. Engaging in individual and team sports or physical exercise
2. Listening to records, tapes or cassettes
3. Watching T. V.
4. Listening to the radio
5. Engaging in sculpture, painting and drawing, film, photography, and other arts activities
6. Playing a musical instrument or voice practice
7. Visiting or talking to friends or relatives
8. Engaging in volunteer work, community affairs, clubs, etc.
9. Going out (dining out, going to theatre, etc.)
10. Taking lessons or formal instruction (degree or non-degree course), as a leisure time activity
11. Engaging in hobby or craft activities
12. Reading books, magazines or newspapers as a leisure activity

CHAPTER 6. THE RESEARCH DATA AND THE TREATMENT OF THE DATA

Methodology

The investigation of the research problem took the form of a secondary analysis, defined as "research in which the data collected and processed by one researcher are reanalyzed - often for a different purpose - by another" (Babbie, 1975:500). Secondary analysis may be seen as related to archival research where there is a reliance on data collected for other purposes (Kidder, 1981). The data to be reanalyzed in this case were from the 1982 Edmonton Area Study. They were made available in a University of Alberta Department of Computing Services public file for this purpose.

According to Babbie, secondary data analysis, which has grown along with the "... growth of computers for analyzing social scientific data", has become "an extremely valuable new source of data for social scientific research" (1975:288). In addition to the "researcher [being] spared the time and cost involved in data collection and recording' (Kidder, 1981:289), he or she

> ... is not limited to the manipulation and interpretation of published statistics. Rather, he has added flexibility in his analysis because by processing a copy of the original data used in the publication of such official statistics, he can organize and analyze the data in new ways (Babbie, 1975:289).

However, secondary analysis is not without its problems. Perhaps the chief limitation is that

> very often an original researcher may not have collected data in precisely the form required by the secondary analyst. It may be necessary, then to utilize indirect indicators of research concepts and variables (Babbie, 1975:289).

This poses potential problems with respect to validity. In the present case, in order to minimize or mitigate the possibility of invalidity, the researcher has taken the following precautions. First, this study is intended to be exploratory. As well, the problem, objectives and definitions have been structured to permit the use of the original

data. Finally, the conclusions have been limited to those directly stemming from the findings of the data. Inferences have been drawn in the "Conclusions" section, but, great care has been taken to support these from the literature.

Secondary analysis carries with it an additional potential problem which relates to the "adequacy of methods employed for the initial data collection" (Kidder, 1981:289). A clear understanding of and support for the original data collection methods is essential, as the secondary analyst adopts the methodology used by the original researcher as if it were his or her own.

The Edmonton Area Study*

Since 1977, the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta, has conducted the annual Edmonton Area Study (E. A. S.) through its research facility, the Population Research Laboratory. Designed to discern various characteristics and opinions held by Edmonton residents, the survey follows a face-to-face, structured interview format. Annual questions submitted by faculty members and outside agencies, together with a number of questions replicated yearly, make up the questionnaire. These questions fall under general topic areas and for each year there is a designated 'special topic' (Kinzel, 1984).

In 1982, the E. A. S. general topics were: Demographic characteristics of the population; social behavior; urban residential mobility; quality of life; crime; employment; mother tongue of respondent and children; attitudes to ethnic groups; social network; personal health; environmental issues; and, current issues. 'Culture and Leisure' was designated as the special topic for 1982.

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* Information concerning the procedures followed for the 1982 E. A. S. have been summarized from Kinzel, 1982, except where otherwise indicated.

The 1982 E. A. S. Sample

The population from which the 1982 E. A. S. sample was drawn included

> all persons 18 years of age and older, who at the time of the survey were in a dwelling unit that was enumerated during the City of Edmonton's annual civic census in the spring of 1981 (Kinzel, 1982:2).

From this sampling frame, a random sample of 667 addresses was selected. Trained interviewers were each given a specified number of addresses which made up their allotment. They were "instructed to obtain an equal number of male and female respondents within [this] allotment of interviews" (p.2). Of the total 507 respondents (a 76% response rate), 47.3% were male and 52.7% were female.

In terms of age and size of household, "the congruence between the sample and census distributions indicates that the sample adequately represents the Edmonton population" (Kinzel, 1982:5).

The 1982 E. A. S. Data Collection

From the Population Research Laboratory's interviewing pool, 36 interviewers were hired and subsequently trained to conduct the face-to-face interviewing required of the Edmonton Area Study. A letter describing the nature of the study and informing selected householders that they could expect an interviewer to contact them in the near future was sent out to all households in the sample approximately one week prior to the beginning of the interviewing.

Data collection was started during the second week in February, 1982 and took seven weeks to complete. From selective and random verification of the completed interviews, "no significant discrepancies or irregularities were found in the interviewing" (Kinzel, 1982:3).

Statistical Procedures

The data from the E. A. S. are available in a public file from the University of Alberta Department of Computing Services and are formatted to be compatible with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) statistics programme. Thus, the bulk of the initial statistical analysis of these data (ie. frequency tables and some comparisons) was done with the SPSS programme. As well, a Macintosh personal computer along with its appropriate software were utilized to generate statistics - particularly those of a comparative nature.

In terms of the actual statistical procedures, cross-tabulations between employment status (as the independent variable) and life satisfaction and perceived importance of leisure (as dependent variables) were completed along with a Chi-square test of significance for each table. By necessity, some categories of the variables were collapsed due to low cell frequencies.

Analyses of variance were conducted on the leisure pursuits data in order to compare the employment groups to each other along the dimensions of participation, attendance, and frequency. Analyses of variance were also utilized to compare the leisure pursuits data as they related to the cost of those pursuits. To test the interaction effect of employment status and cost of leisure pursuit upon leisure pursuits, two-way analyses of variance were employed.

In addition, cross-tabulations between employment status and various demographic characteristics (such as age, gender, education, marital status, household composition and income) were done in order to describe and compare the unemployed and employed respondents. A Chi-square statistic was computed for each of the demographic comparisons in order to test for significant differences between the two employment groups.

CHAPTER 8. THE FINDINGS

The Respondents

Of the total 507 respondents to the 1982 Edmonton Area Study (E.A.S.), 294 were employed and 21 were unemployed. The remaining 192 respondents consisted of those who were employed part time (63), retired (40), in school (20), keeping house (64) and 'other' (3). The unemployment rate for the respondents, as determined by the formula employed by Statistics Canada, was 5.6%. The official rate of unemployment in Edmonton at the time of the study was 6.1% (Statistics Canada), which was slightly greater than the rate reflected in the study sample.

A breakdown of the unemployed and employed respondents by age, along with the chi-square statistic testing for independence between these two variables, can be found in Table 9. No significant differences in age were found between these two employment groups at the $p \leq .10$ level. Thus, there is no indication of the current over-representation of youth within the ranks of the unemployed in this 1982 study sample nor of the recent (mid-1980's) trend toward high levels of unemployment among older adults.

As with age, there were no significant differences between the employed and unemployed respondents in terms of their gender (Table 10). Approximately 71% of the unemployed and 60% of the employed respondents were male and these percentages were close to the expected values for each group.

Table 11 compares the unemployed to the employed in terms of the highest level of education attained. On this demographic variable, the unemployed were significantly different from the employed. There was an over-representation of unemployed who had attained a high school diploma or less and an under-representation of those who had completed some post-secondary education or had attained a university degree. In general, the unemployed were less educated than the employed respondents which is consistent with descriptions of the unemployed found in previous studies.

Table 9

Age of Respondents by Employment Status

	Youth (18-25 yrs)	Adult (26-55 yrs)	Older Adult (56-65 yrs)	Senior (65+ yrs)	Totals
Employed	75	207	11	1	294
	25.5%	70.4%	3.7%	0.3%	99.9%
expected value	79.3	193.7	17.9	3.1	
Unemployed	9	10	2	0	21
	42.9%	47.6%	9.5%	0.0%	100.0%
expected value	5.7	13.8	1.3	0.2	

Total Chi-square = 5.34, df = 3, p=.148, not significant at p < .10 level

Table 10

Sex of Respondent by Employment Status

	Male	Female	Total
Employed	178	116	294
	60.5%	39.5%	100.0%
expected value	180.1	113.9	
Unemployed	15	6	21
	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
expected value	12.9	8.1	

Total Chi-square = 0.950, df = 1, not significant at p < .10 level

Table 11

Highest Educational Level by Employment Status

	No H. S. Diploma	H. S. Diploma	Some Post Secondary	P.S. Dip. or Cert.	Univ. Degree	Total
Employed	66	70	43	57	58	294
	22.4%	23.8%	14.6%	19.4%	19.7%	99.9%
expected value	68.1	72.8	41.1	57.9	54.1	
Unemployed	7	8	1	5	0	21
	33.3%	38.1%	4.8%	23.8%	0.0%	100.0%
expected value	4.9	5.2	2.9	4.1	3.9	

Total Chi-square = 8.32, df = 4, p=0.0805, significant at p < .10 level

Table 12

Number of Children in Household by Employment Status

	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Total
Employed	184	43	49	17	1	294
	62.6%	14.6%	16.7%	5.8%	0.9%	100.6%
expected value	183.9	42.0	50.4	16.8	0.9	
Unemployed	13	2	5	1	0	21
	61.9%	9.5%	23.8%	4.8%	0.0%	100.0%
expected value	13.1	3.0	3.6	1.2	0.1	

Total Chi-square = 1.04, df = 4, p=0.9023, not significant at p < .10 level

In terms of traditional profile variables, then, the unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S were fairly similar to the employed respondents, with the exception of levels of education. However, some differences between the two groups were also found when they were compared across various household and family dimensions. While there were no significant differences between the unemployed and employed in terms of the numbers of children in the household, (Table 12) there were significant differences between them in terms of the numbers of adults and total persons (Tables 13 and 14, respectively). The majority of respondents from both employment groups lived in households with two adults (Table 13). For the unemployed respondents, however, the numbers of two-adult and six-adult households were greater than expected, while the numbers of one-adult households were less than expected. Similar differences between the two groups can be seen in total persons per household (Table 14). The unemployed were over-represented in two-person and eight-person households, and under-represented in one-person and five-person households. By way of generalization, the source of most of the significance for both of these two comparisons was the one unemployed respondent's family of six adults (eight total) and unemployed respondents' under-representation in the categories of one-adult and two-person households.

Table 15 compares the marital status of the unemployed and employed respondents. The two groups were significantly different from each other in this respect, with the numbers of unemployed in common-law relationships much greater than expected and the numbers reporting that they were now married much lower than expected. Table 16 breaks down the employment status of the employed and unemployed respondents' spouses (including common-law spouses). There were no significant differences between these two groups, with the majority of both groups having spouses who were employed full time.

Table 13

Number of Adults in Household by Employment Status

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Total
Employed	78	161	41	10	4	0	294
	26.5%	54.8%	13.9%	3.4%	1.4%	0.0%	100.0%
expected value	74.7	164.3	41.1	9.3	3.7	0.9	
Unemployed	2	15	3	0	0	1	21
	9.5%	71.4%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%	100.0%
expected value	5.3	11.7	2.9	0.7	0.3	0.1	

Total Chi-square = 18.208, df = 5, p=0.0027, significant at p < .10 level

Table 14

Total Persons in Household by Employment Status

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Eight	Total
Employed	64	94	50	59	21	6	0	294
	21.8%	32.0%	17.0%	20.1%	7.1%	2.0%	0.0%	100.0%
expected value	60.7	96.1	51	59.7	19.6	5.6	0.9	
Unemployed	1	9	5	5	0	0	1	21
	4.8%	42.9%	23.8%	23.8%	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%	100.1%
expected value	4.3	6.9	3.7	4.3	1.4	0.4	0.1	

Total Chi-square = 20.04, df = 6, p=0.0027, significant at p < .10 level

Table 15

Marital Status of Respondent by Employment Status

	Single-Never Married	Now Married	Common-Law	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Total
Employed	83	161	12	23	12	3	294
	28.3%	54.8%	4.1%	7.8%	4.1%	1.0%	100.1%
expected value	83.1	154.9	16.8	22.4	13.1	3.7	
Unemployed	6	5	6	1	2	1	21
	28.6%	23.8%	28.6%	4.8%	9.5%	4.8%	100.1%
expected value	5.9	11.1	1.2	1.6	0.9	0.3	

Total Chi-square = 20.04, df = 6, p=0.0027, significant at p < .10 level

Table 16

Employment Status of Spouse by Employment Status of Respondent

	Employed Full Time	Employed Part Time	Un-Employed	In School	Keeping House	Other	Total
Employed	107	25	1	1	38	1	173
	61.8%	14.5%	0.6%	0.6%	22.0%	0.6%	100.1%
expected value	107.2	23.5	0.9	1.9	38.5	0.9	
Unemployed	7	0	0	1	3	0	11
	63.6%	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	27.3%	0.0%	100.0%
expected value	6.8	1.5	0.1	0.1	2.5	0.1	

Total Chi-square = 8.75, df = 5, p=0.1195, not significant at p < .10 level

The two groups were also compared to each other in terms of household income. Statistics Canada sets Low Income Lines annually based upon total yearly household income and size of household. The 1982 low income lines are listed in Table 17. The household incomes of the employed and unemployed respondents were cross-tabulated with the size of the households and were re-classified as falling below or above the low income line (Table 18). As the household income categories utilized by the 1982 E. A. S. did not match the low income lines set by Statistics Canada, cases were evaluated as falling below or above the Statistics Canada low income line by the following procedure. For each size of household, the low income line was set at the upper value of the 1982 E. A. S. category where the Statistics Canada low income line fell. Any cases represented in this category or below it were considered to fall below the low income line. For example, the Statistics Canada low income line for a household of two persons ($11,761) fell in the 1982 E. A. S. income category of $10,000 to $11,999. Thus the low income line for a family of two utilized in the current comparison was revised to $11,999.

Table 18 shows the results arising from the above procedures. As can be seen, although a greater percentage of unemployed households fell below the low income line than did employed households, this difference was not statistically significant at the $p \leq .10$ level. Therefore, for this particular group of unemployed respondents as a whole, the state of unemployment has not placed them below the low income line.By way of a general description, the unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. were predominantly under the age of 55 years, had attained a high school diploma or less and were male. They lived in a households with a spouse who was employed full time, had no dependents and their total annual household income was above the poverty line. With the exception of educational level, and notwithstanding significant differences between the employed and

unemployed respondents in some household characteristics, it can be assumed that, overall, the differences between the groups would not have differing effects upon their life satisfaction and leisure pursuits.

Table 17

Low Income Lines for 1982

(Source: Statistics Canada)

Size of Household	Low Income Line
Single	$ 8,914
Two	11,761
Three	15,732
Four	18,129
Five	21,126
Six	23,073
Seven or more	25,396

Table 18

Number of Households Below 1982 Low Income Line

by Employment Status
(Based upon Size of Household)

	Below Low Income Line	Above Low Income Line	Total
Employed	19	254	273
	7.0%	93.0%	100.0%
expected value	20.6	252.4	273
Unemployed	3	15	18
	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
expected value	1.4	16.6	18

Total Chi-square = 2.28, df = 1, not significant at $p < .10$ level

Life Satisfaction

The proposition concerning the relationship between employment status and life satisfaction was stated in two parts. Firstly, it was predicted that the unemployed would report less satisfaction than the employed in the following life areas: family life, standard of living, health and physical condition, friendships, non-working activities and overall life. Secondly, it was predicted that the relationship between employment status and satisfaction with amount of free time would be inconsistent.

In order to test these statements, employment status (as the independent variable) was compared to the degree of satisfaction reported for each life area (as the dependent variable). The seven-point Likert scale utilized to measure degree of satisfaction was collapsed into the following three categories: 'dissatisfied' (points 1 to 3 inclusively); 'neutral' (point 4); and 'satisfied' (points 4 to 7 inclusively) because of low cell frequencies, thus yielding a simple three-by-three table for each life area. Each comparison was then subjected to a Chi-square analysis, the summary of which is found in Table 19 and the individual comparisons for which are found in Tables 20 through 26.

It is evident from the summary (Table 19) that only one of the relationships contained in the first statement was found to be significant at the $p \leq .10$ level. This was in the area of health and physical condition (significant at the $p \leq .01$ level). The remainder of the life satisfaction areas contained in this statement (ie. non-working activities, overall life, standard of living, friendships and family life) were not found to be significantly related to employment status.

A further analysis of the relationship between employment status and satisfaction with health and physical condition can be found in Table 20. The majority of the respondents from both employment statuses reported being satisfied with their health and physical condition (88.10% and 76.19% for the employed and unemployed, respectively).

Table 19

Summary of the Relationships Between Life Satisfaction and Employment Status

	Chi-square value	Significant p≤.10	Level of Significance
STATEMENT 1:			
The unemployed will report less satisfaction in the following life areas:			
Health and Physical Condition	12.55	yes	p≤.01
Non-working Activities	0.08	no	
Overall Life	3.79	no	
Standard of Living	3.22	no	
Friendships	3.32	no	
Family Life	0.77	no	
STATEMENT 2:			
The relationship between work status and satisfaction with amount of free time available will be inconsistent:			
Amount of Free Time	2.34	no	

Table 20

Satisfaction With Health and Physical Condition by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	20	15	259	294
	6.80%	5.10%	88.10%	100.00%
expected value	18.7	18.7	255.7	293.1
Unemployed	0	5	16	21
	0.00%	23.81%	76.19%	100.00%
expected value	1.3	1.3	18.3	20.9

Total Chi-square = 12.55, df = 2, significant at p ≤.01

There was, however, a greater than expected number of unemployed respondents answering 'neutral' when asked how satisfied they were with their health and physical condition. This over-representation contributed 10.53 to the overall Chi-square statistic of 12.7, thus serving as the primary source for the significance in the relationship.

Tables 21 through 25 consist of the individual breakdowns for the five life areas - non-working activities, overall life, standard of living, friendships and family life - that were found to be statistically unrelated to employment status. In general, as with health and physical condition, the majority of the respondents from both groups reported being satisfied with each of these life areas. For the areas of overall life and standard of living, however, there appears to be some indication that the unemployed respondents were less satisfied than the employed (Tables 22 and 23). For both standard of living and overall life, the percentage of unemployed reporting dissatisfaction was almost triple that of the employed. In addition, only 66.67% of the unemployed respondents were satisfied with their standard of living, compared to 78.23% for the employed.

In terms of the first statement in the proposition - that the unemployed would be less satisfied than the employed in the above life areas - it appears that there is little statistical support from this particular study. For the life area that yielded significant results, health and physical condition, the source of the significance was found not in an over-representation of dissatisfied unemployed respondents, but rather from an over-representation in the neutral response cell. For standard of living and overall life, although there appeared to be some support for the first statement, it was not statistically significant support.

Table 21

Satisfaction With Non-working Activities by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	23	44	225	292
	7.88%	15.07%	77.05%	100.00%
expected value	23.3	43.8	224.8	291.9
Unemployed	2	3	16	21
	9.52%	14.29%	76.19%	100.00%
expected value	1.7	3.2	16.2	21.1

Total Chi-square = 0.08, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

Table 22

Overall Satisfaction With Life by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	17	22	254	293
	5.80%	7.51%	86.69%	100.00%
expected value	18.7	20.5	253.8	293
Unemployed	3	0	18	21
	14.29%	0.00%	85.71%	100.00%
expected value	1.3	1.5	18.2	21

Total Chi-square = 3.79, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

Table 23

Satisfaction With Standard of Living by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	23	41	230	294
	7.82%	13.95%	78.23%	100.00%
expected value	25.2	41.1	227.7	294
Unemployed	4	3	14	21
	19.05%	14.29%	66.67%	100.00%
expected value	1.8	2.9	16.3	21

Total Chi-square = 3.22, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

Table 24

Satisfaction With Friendships by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	12	25	257	294
	4.08%	8.50%	87.41%	100.00%
expected value	11.2	27.1	255.7	294
Unemployed	0	4	17	21
	0.00%	19.05%	80.95%	100.00%
expected value	0.8	1.9	18.3	21

Total Chi-square = 3.32, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

Table 25

Satisfaction With Family Life by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	9	26	247	282
	3.19%	9.22%	87.59%	100.00%
expected value	9.3	27.0	245.7	282
Unemployed	1	3	17	21
	4.76%	14.29%	80.95%	100.00%
expected value	0.7	2.0	18.3	21

Total Chi-square = 0.77, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

Table 26

Satisfaction With Amount of Free Time by Employment Status

	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Totals
Employed	77	62	154	293
	26.28%	21.16%	52.56%	100.00%
expected value	74.9	60.8	157.3	293
Unemployed	3	3	14	20
	15.00%	15.00%	70.00%	100.00%
expected value	5.1	4.2	10.7	20

Total Chi-square = 2.34, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

The second statement concerning life satisfaction predicted that there would be an inconsistent relationship between employment status and satisfaction with amount of free time. The reason for this, it was suggested, was that sources of dissatisfaction could stem from a perceived feeling of having either too little or too much time on one's hands. When subjected to a Chi-square analysis, it was found that the relationship between employment status and satisfaction with amount of free time was not significant (Table 19). However, a closer examination (Table 26) shows that this life area had some interesting and different patterns of satisfaction. Although the majority in both employment groups was generally satisfied with the amount of available free time, the numbers reporting this satisfaction were not as great as for the other life areas. This tendency was most marked with the employed, where only 52.56% reported satisfaction with the amount of free time they had. A greater percentage of the unemployed reported being satisfied (70%).

Importance of Recreation and Leisure Activities

It was proposed at the outset of the study that the unemployed would perceive leisure pursuits as being less important to them than would the employed. Importance, as with satisfaction, was measured on a seven-point Likert scale and the categories were collapsed in a parallel fashion into 'unimportant', 'neutral' and 'important'. As can be seen in Table 27, this relationship was not significant at the $p \leq .10$ level. However, it should be noted that although there was no significant relationship between employment status and degree of importance accorded recreation and leisure activities, the entire group (100.00%) of unemployed respondents reported these activities as being important to them as compared to 85.03% of the employed respondents.

Table 27
Importance of Recreation and Leisure Activities by Employment Status

	Unimportant	Neutral	Important	Totals
Employed	11	33	250	294
	3.74%	11.22%	85.03%	100.00%
expected value	10.3	30.8	252.9	294
Unemployed	0	0	21	21
	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
expected value	0.7	2.2	18.1	21

Total Chi-square = 3.65, df = 2, not significant at $p \leq .05$

Leisure Pursuits

Propositions were made at the outset with respect to the types and frequency of leisure pursuits for the selected employment groups contained in the 1982 Edmonton Area Study. Firstly, it was predicted that the types of leisure pursuits of the unemployed would not differ from those of the employed except where cost was a significant factor. Secondly, it was predicted that the overall frequency of attendance or participation would be greater for the unemployed and that this would be especially the case for less costly activities and events. The results of the examination of these propositions can be found in Tables 28 through 36 and are discussed in more detail below.

Types of Leisure Pursuits

In order to test the proposition that the types of leisure pursuits of the unemployed would not differ from those of the employed except where cost was a significant factor, the employment groups were compared to each other with respect to their attendance at events and facilities and their participation in leisure activities. Attendance at events and facilities is reported as a percentage of the respondents answering 'yes' when asked if they had attended the specified event or facility over the past three months, and if 'no', whether or not they had attended from three months to 1 year ago. Tables 38 through 49 contain a breakdown of this information for each event or facility and can be found in Appendix A. Table 28 summarizes the attendance at all twelve events and facilities over the three months immediately prior to the survey and is arranged in order of average attendance for both groups, from greatest to least.

As can be seen from the Table, the average attendance at the specified events and facilities over the three month period for both groups ranged from a high of 78.55% to a low of 9.38% with an overall average of 30.35%. Attendance for the employed group

Table 28

Attendance at Events and Facilities by Employment Status
(Percent Attending at Least Once Over Past Three Months)

	Employed		Unemployed		Both Groups	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Bookstore	85.67	1	71.43	1	78.55	1
Movie	56.85	2	57.14	2	57.00	2
Sport Event	45.39	3	47.62	3	46.51	3
Public Library	44.56	4	28.57	4	36.56	4
Popular Music Performance	22.18	10	28.57	4	25.38	5
Live Theatre	25.60	5	19.05	6	22.32	6
Art/Craft Fair or Festival	22.87	8	19.05	6	20.96	7
Historical/Cultural Site	22.95	7	14.29	8	18.62	8
Museum	19.05	11	14.29	8	16.67	9
Art Gallery/Museum	23.13	6	9.52	10	16.33	10
Music/Dance Performance	22.26	9	9.52	10	15.89	11
Zoo/Animal Performance	13.99	12	4.76	11	9.38	12
Mean	**33.71**		**26.98**		**30.35**	
Standard Deviation	20.82		21.04		20.93	

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Attendance)
Groups = Employment Status;
F-ratio = 0.619; not significant at $p \leq .10$

ranged from 85.67% to 13.99% while for the unemployed it ranged from 71.43% to 4.76%. The average attendance for the two groups was 33.71% and 26.98%, respectively. Therefore, in terms of both the upper value of the range and the overall average, fewer of the unemployed attended events and facilities than did the employed.

In order to determine whether or not this difference in attendance was statistically significant, the data were subjected to an analysis of variance. The F-ratio for this particular variable was 0.360 - not large enough to indicate significance at the $p \leq .10$ level. This suggests that the data for attendance at facilities and events support the first proposition with respect to leisure pursuits; ie. that there would be no difference between the unemployed and employed in terms of the types of facilities and events they attended.

It was suggested in the proposition that cost might be a factor in determining attendance; in other words, cost of the facilities or events might account for some of the differences between groups outlined above. To test this, the events and facilities were grouped under the following categories: high expense, including music/dance performances, sports events, live theatre and popular music performances; moderate expense, including arts and crafts fairs or festivals, zoo or animal performances and movies; and low expense/free, including historical/cultural sites, bookstores, art galleries or museums, museums and public libraries. Table 29 shows the attendance data regrouped into these cost categories. By examining each cost category separately, one can see that for the high and moderate expense categories, the employment groups appear to have relatively similar percentages attending. In the low expense category the unemployed appear to attend to a lesser degree. Looking down the columns, it becomes evident that while the employed group's attendance increased as the costs involved in attending the facility or event decreased, the unemployed group's attendance remained essentially the same. Once again, an analysis of variance was conducted to determine whether or not these initially

Table 29

Attendance At Events and Facilities by Employment Status and by Cost of Event or Facility

(Percent Attending at Least Once Over Past Three Months)

	Employed	Unemployed
High Expense		
Music/Dance Performance	22.26	9.52
Sport Event	45.39	47.62
Live Theatre	25.60	19.05
Popular Music Performance	22.18	28.57
Mean	**28.86**	**26.19**
Standard Deviation	11.14	16.27
Moderate Expense		
Art/Craft Fair or Festival	22.87	19.05
Zoo/Animal Performance	13.99	4.76
Movie	56.85	57.14
Mean	**31.24**	**26.98**
Standard Deviation	22.62	27.08
Low Expense/Free		
Historical/Cultural Site	22.95	14.29
Bookstore	85.67	71.43
Art Gallery/Museum	23.13	9.52
Museum	19.05	14.29
Public Library	44.56	28.57
Mean	**39.07**	**27.62**
Standard Deviation	27.91	25.51

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Attendance)
Groups = Degree of Expense of Events and Facilities;
F ratio = 0.176; not significant at $p \leq .10$

Two-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Attendance)
Groups = Interaction between Employment Status and Expense of Events and Facilities;
F-ratio = 0.166; not significant at $p \leq .10$

observed differences were statistically sound. The result of the one-way analysis of variance, indicates that at the $p \leq .10$ level, attendance was not significantly related to the cost of events and facilities.

A two-way analysis of variance was conducted on the attendance data to determine whether or not attendance was affected by an interaction between employment status and costs of the events or facilities (Table 29). The results show that the interaction between employment status and degree of event or facility expense did not significantly affect attendance (F-ratio = 0.166). In short, the unemployed were no different from the employed with respect to their attendance patterns where the impact of cost is concerned.

The second group of leisure pursuits included in the 1982 Edmonton Area Study was leisure activities. In a similar fashion to the attendance data, this information is reported as a percentage of the respondents answering 'yes' when asked if they had participated in the specified activity over the past week and if 'no', whether or not they had participated at all from one week to 1 year ago. The breakdown for each individual activity can be found in Appendix B (Tables 50 through 61). The summary of participation in leisure activities over the week immediately preceding the survey, arranged in order of average participation for both groups together, can be found in Table 30. From this summary table, a number of observations can be made.

When compared to the attendance data, participation rates are higher both in terms of the average for both groups and in terms of the upper percentage in the range. The average for both groups participating in the specified activities was 57.66 percent and ranged from a high of 98.12% to a low of 9.18%. Each of the groups individually had very similar means for participation: 57.78% for the employed and 57.54% for the unemployed. However, the ranges for the groups, particularly the lower limits of the ranges, were somewhat different. The percentage of employed respondents participating in

Table 30

Participation in Leisure Activities by Employment Status
(Percent Participating at Least Once During Last Week)

	Employed		Unemployed		Both Groups	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Visiting with Friends	96.23	1	100.00	1	98.12	1
Listening to the Radio	94.56	3	100.00	1	97.28	2
Watching T.V.	93.20	4	100.00	1	96.60	3
Reading	94.88	2	95.24	4	95.06	4
Listening to Tapes/Records	77.89	5	76.19	5	77.04	5
Going Out	63.27	6	71.43	6	67.35	6
Sports/Exercise	57.48	7	71.43	6	64.46	7
Hobbies/Crafts	43.00	8	38.10	8	40.55	8
Visual Arts Activities	22.45	9	14.29	9	18.37	9
Music/Voice Practice	15.31	11	14.29	9	14.80	10
Volunteer Work	21.43	10	4.76	11	13.10	11
Continuing Education	13.61	12	4.76	11	9.18	12
Mean	**57.78**		**57.54**		**57.66**	
Standard Deviation	33.63		39.61		36.62	

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Participation)
Groups = Employment Status;
F-ratio = 0.000; not significant at $p \leq .10$

the specified leisure activities ranged from a high of 96.23% to a low of 13.61%, while for the unemployed it ranged from 100.00% to 4.76%. The participation data for the unemployed are more spread out (reflected in both the range and standard deviation) than for the employed.

An analysis of variance was conducted to assess whether or not the differences outlined above were statistically significant (Table 30). It is evident again, as with attendance, that employment status did not significantly affect participation rates (F-ratio equal to 0.000), lending further support to the proposition that there would be no differences between groups with respect to types of leisure pursuits.

It was, also, proposed at the outset of this study that cost might play a significant role in determining the unemployed group's participation in leisure activities. Table 31 presents the participation data for each group as they fall under the three expense groupings: high expense, including continuing education and going out; moderate expense, including visual arts activities, music/voice practice, hobbies/crafts and sports/exercise; and low expense/free, including visiting with friends, volunteer work, listening to the radio, reading, listening to tapes/records and watching T.V. Similar results to the attendance data can be seen; that is, when examining the means of the groups for each expense category, there do not appear to be differences based upon employment status. Overall, the least expensive activities had much higher rates of participation for both groups (individually as well as together), while the moderate expense and high expense activities had lower rates which were relatively similar to each other.

An analysis of variance was conducted on the participation data (Table 31) and it yielded significant differences between the levels of participation in leisure activities based upon the costs of those activities (F-ratio of 6.655, $p \leq .10$). Therefore, on an overall

Table 31

Participation In Leisure Activities by Employment Status and by Cost of Activities

(Percent Participating at Least Once Over Past Week)

	Employed	Unemployed
High Expense		
Continuing Education	13.61	4.76
Going Out	63.27	71.43
Mean	**38.44**	**38.10**
Standard Deviation	35.11	47.14
Moderate Expense		
Visual Arts Activities	22.45	14.29
Music/Voice Practice	15.31	14.29
Hobbies/Crafts	43.00	38.10
Sports/Exercise	57.48	71.43
Mean	**34.56**	**34.52**
Standard Deviation	19.27	27.04
Low Expense/Free		
Visiting with Friends	96.23	100.00
Volunteer Work	21.43	4.76
Listening to the Radio	94.56	100.00
Reading	94.88	95.24
Listening to Tapes/Records	77.89	76.19
Watching T.V.	93.20	100.00
Mean	**79.70**	**79.37**
Standard Deviation	29.34	37.70

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Participation)
Groups = Degree of Expense of Activities;
F ratio = 6.655; significant at $p \leq .10$

Two-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Participation)
Groups = Interaction between Employment Status and Expense of Activities;
F-ratio = 0.000; not significant at $p \leq .10$

basis, the tendency for less costly activities to have higher rates of participation was a statistically significant finding.

In addition, a two-way analysis of variance was completed to test whether or not there was an interaction effect between employment status and cost of activities upon participation. It is clear from the extremely low F-ratio (.000) produced from this two-way analysis of variance (Table 31) that these two variables acting together did not account for differences in participation. Therefore, although more of the unemployed participated in less costly leisure activities, they were no different from the employed in terms of their participation patterns in relation to the cost of the activities. Thus, the proposition that the unemployed would be more likely to participate in less costly activities is not supported for this particular sample of respondents.

Table 32 summarizes the results of the one- and two-way analyses of variance for the type of leisure pursuits data. As predicted, employment status was not significantly related to attendance at events and facilities or participation in leisure activities. The degree of expense of the events and facilities did not significantly effect the rate of attendance and this held true when the cost of the event or facility was considered in interaction with employment status. There was a significant relationship between the degree of expense of leisure activities and rates of participation. However, this effect was consistent for both employment groups. Therefore, in opposition to the expected results, for this particular group of unemployed respondents, the degree of expense of the events, facilities or activities did not discourage them from attending or participating any more so than it did for the employed group.

Table 32

Summary of Analyses of Variance for Type of Leisure Pursuits Data

	F-ratio	Significant at $p \leq .10$	Level of Significance
Groups = Employment Status			
Attendance at Events and Facilities	0.619	no	
Participation in Leisure Activities	0.000	no	
Groups = Degree of Expense of Activity or Event/Facility			
Attendance at Events and Facilities	0.176	no	
Participation in Leisure Activities	6.655	yes	$p = 0.006$
Groups = Interaction between Employment Status and Degree of Expense of Activity or Event/Facility			
Attendance at Events and Facilities	0.166	no	
Participation in Leisure Activities	0.000	no	

Frequency of Attendance and Participation

The second major area of leisure propositions was concerned with the frequency with which the respondents participated in leisure activities and attended events and facilities. More specifically, it was proposed that the overall frequency of attendance (measured as number of visits) and participation (measured as number of hours) would be greater for the unemployed than for the employed. Further, it was suggested that the frequency of participation and attendance for the unemployed would be greater in less costly leisure pursuits.

Table 33 summarizes the average number of visits per person for each event or facility over the three months immediately preceding the survey by employment status and is arranged in order of greatest to least number of visits for both groups together. The means of the visits for each group appear to be fairly similar: 3.11 for the employed and 3.39 for the unemployed, with an overall mean of 3.25. The ranges, on the other hand, are quite different from each other. The greatest average number of visits for both groups together was 7.56 while the lowest was 1.27. For the employed, visits ranged from 6.37 per person to 1.18 (with a standard deviation of 1.63) and for the unemployed from 9.10 to 1.00 with a standard deviation of 2.42.

The data concerning frequency of attendance were subjected to an analysis of variance to determine whether or not the differences between the groups mentioned above were statistically significant (Table 33). It was found that employment status did not have a significant effect upon the average number of visits to events and facilities over the three month period (F-ratio of 0.078). Therefore, the second major proposition, suggesting that the overall frequency with which the unemployed would attend events and facilities would be greater than for the employed, is not supported.

Table 33

Visits to Events and Facilities by Employment Status

(Average Number of Visits per Person Over Past Three Months)

	Employed		Unemployed		Both Groups	
	Visits	Rank	Visits	Rank	Visits	Rank
Sport Event	6.01	2	9.10	1	7.56	1
Public Library	5.32	3	7.33	2	6.33	2
Bookstore	6.37	1	5.13	4	5.75	3
Popular Music Performance	3.05	5	6.50	3	4.78	4
Movie	3.42	4	3.33	6	3.38	5
Zoo/Animal Performance	1.18	11	3.00	5	2.09	6
Historical/Cultural Site	2.39	6	1.00	8	1.70	7
Art Gallery/Museum	2.25	7	1.00	8	1.63	8
Live Theatre	1.93	9	1.25	7	1.59	9
Music/Dance Performance	2.02	8	1.00	8	1.51	10
Museum	1.84	10	1.00	8	1.42	11
Art/Craft Fair or Festival	1.53	12	1.00	8	1.27	12
Mean	**3.11**		**3.39**		**3.25**	
Standard Deviation	1.63		2.42		2.02	

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Visits)
Groups = Employment Status;
F-ratio = 0.078; not significant at $p \leq .10$

It was suggested at the outset of the study that the costs of the leisure pursuits would be a factor in determining the frequency with which the unemployed would participate in leisure pursuits, in this case, attend facilities and events. Therefore, as with the attendance data, the visits data were broken down into the same expense categories for events and facilities (Table 34). An interesting pattern can be seen in this Table which is consistent across both employment status groups. For each group individually, visits to moderately expensive events and facilities were lower than they were for both the high expense and low expense/free categories. When subjected to analysis of variance, however, it became evident that this tendency was not statistically significant. The F-ratio of 1.1970 was much too low to indicate significance at the $p \leq .10$ level.

Looking at each expense category individually, there appear to be some differences between the employment groups. In both the high and moderate expense categories, the unemployed visited those events and facilities more often than did the employed, while for the low expense/free category, they visited less often. This is in direct opposition to the expected results. The two-way analysis of variance conducted on the visits data (Table 34) indicates, however, that this observed tendency is not statistically significant at the $p \leq .10$ level (F-ratio of 0.262). Therefore, it appears that neither the cost of the event/facility nor the interaction between it and the employment status of the respondents had an effect upon frequency of attendance.

A summary of the average hours per person of participation in the specified leisure activities over the week prior to the 1982 Edmonton Area Study can be found in Table 35. This information is again arranged in order of highest to lowest for both groups together.

Table 34

Visits to Events and Facilities by Employment Status and by Cost of Event or Facility

(Average Number of Visits per Person Over Past Three Months)

	Employed	Unemployed
High Expense		
Music/Dance Performance	2.02	1.00
Sport Event	6.01	9.10
Live Theatre	1.93	1.25
Popular Music Performance	3.05	6.50
Mean	**3.25**	**4.46**
Standard Deviation	1.91	4.00
Moderate Expense		
Art/Craft Fair or Festival	1.53	1.00
Zoo/Animal Performance	1.18	3.00
Movie	3.42	3.33
Mean	**2.04**	**2.44**
Standard Deviation	1.21	1.26
Low Expense/Free		
Historical/Cultural Site	2.39	1.00
Bookstore	6.37	5.13
Art Gallery/Museum	2.25	1.00
Museum	1.84	1.00
Public Library	5.32	7.33
Mean	**3.63**	**3.09**
Standard Deviation	2.06	2.97

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Visits)
Groups = Degree of Expense of Events and Facilities;
F ratio = 1.197; not significant at $p \leq .10$

Two-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Visits)
Groups = Interaction between Employment Status and Expense of Events and Facilities;
F-ratio = 0.262; not significant at $p \leq .10$

Table 35

Hours of Participation in Leisure Activities by Employment Status

(Average Number of Hours per Person Over Last Week)

	Employed		Unemployed		Both Groups	
	Hours	Rank	Hours	Rank	Hours	Rank
Listening to the Radio	12.10	1	21.33	1	16.72	1
Visiting with Friends	9.94	3	17.57	3	13.76	2
Watching T.V.	11.05	2	16.19	5	13.62	3
Listening to Tapes/Records	8.67	4	16.75	4	12.71	4
Volunteer Work	3.68	12	20.00	2	11.84	5
Hobbies/Crafts	6.45	7	14.50	7	10.48	6
Music/Voice Practice	4.47	11	15.33	6	9.90	7
Reading	7.32	5	10.50	8	8.91	8
Sports/Exercise	4.95	10	8.27	9	6.61	9
Visual Arts Activities	7.12	6	4.33	10	5.73	10
Continuing Education	5.43	9	4.00	11	4.72	11
Going Out	5.63	8	3.33	12	4.48	12
Mean	**7.23**		**12.68**		**9.95**	
Standard Deviation	2.69		6.38		4.54	

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Hours)
Groups = Employment Status;
F-ratio = 7.403; significant at $p \leq .10$

A cursory glance at this Table shows that the groups were very different from each other in terms of their mean hours of participation (7.23 for the employed and 12.68 for the unemployed). Their ranges were also quite different. The unemployed's average hours of participation ranged from 21.33 to 3.33 (standard deviation of 6.38) and the employed's from 12.10 to 3.68 (standard deviation of 2.69).

This tendency is supported on an activity by activity basis. With the exception of continuing education, visual arts activities and going out, the unemployed generally spent more time participating in each activity than did the employed. Therefore, in terms of mean hours of participation, highest value in the range, and activity by activity participation, the unemployed appear to have participated for longer periods of time than did the employed.

The analysis of variance of the hours of participation data yielded an F-ratio of 7.403 which means that the differences outlined above with respect to hours of participation in leisure activities were indeed significant at the $p \leq .10$ level (Table 35). As proposed, the unemployed did participate for longer periods of time in their chosen leisure activities.

Hours of participation in leisure activities were broken down into expense categories in order to further test the proposition that cost of activities would be a determining factor in duration of participation. This information is presented in Table 36. It can be seen in this table that there is a general pattern of increasing hours of participation with decreasing costs. When subjected to a one-way analysis of variance (Table 36), this observation was found to be statistically significant at the $p \leq .10$ level (F-ratio of 5.620). Therefore, cost of activities was a significant factor in determining overall hours of participation for both groups.

A two-way analysis of variance tested the assertion that hours of participation would be affected by the interaction between employment status and cost of activity. As

Table 36

Hours of Participation In Leisure Activities by Employment Status and by Cost of Activities

(Average Number of Hours per Person Over Past Week)

	Employed	Unemployed
High Expense		
Continuing Education	5.43	4.00
Going Out	5.63	3.33
Mean	**5.53**	**3.67**
Standard Deviation	0.14	0.47
Moderate Expense		
Visual Arts Activities	7.12	4.33
Music/Voice Practice	4.47	15.33
Hobbies/Crafts	6.45	14.50
Sports/Exercise	4.95	8.27
Mean	**5.75**	**10.61**
Standard Deviation	1.24	5.24
Low Expense/Free		
Visiting with Friends	9.94	17.57
Volunteer Work	3.68	20.00
Listening to the Radio	12.10	21.33
Reading	7.32	10.50
Listening to Tapes/Records	8.67	16.75
Watching T.V.	11.05	16.19
Mean	**8.79**	**17.06**
Standard Deviation	3.02	3.77

One-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Hours)
Groups = Degree of Expense of Activities;
F ratio = 5.620; significant at $p \leq .10$

Two-way ANOVA: (Dependent Variable = Hours)
Groups = Interaction between Employment Status and Expense of Activities;
F-ratio = 3.772; significant at $p \leq .10$

can be seen in Table 36, the interaction between employment status and cost of activity did have a significant effect upon hours of participation in leisure activities at the $p \leq .10$ level (F-ratio of 3.772). Thus, the unemployed were more likely to participate in the less costly activities for longer hours than the employed.

Table 37 summarizes the results of the one- and two-way analyses of variance for the frequency of leisure pursuits data. The number of visits to events and facilities was not significantly dependent upon the employment status of the respondents, the degree of expense of the events or facilities, nor the interaction between degree of expense and employment status. Thus, the proposition that the unemployed respondents of the 1982 E. A .S. would visit events and facilities more frequently than would the employed (particularly those events and facilities that were less expensive) is not supported.

In terms of hours of participation in the designated leisure activities, the above proposition was supported by the current data (Table 28). The employment status of the respondents, degree of expense of the leisure activities as well as the interaction between these two variables were found to effect significantly the hours of participation. The unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. participated for more hours in their chosen leisure activities than did the employed and this was especially the case for the less costly activities.

Table 37

Summary of Analyses of Variance for Frequency of Leisure Pursuits Data

	F-ratio	Significant at $p \leq .10$	Level of Significance
Groups = Employment Status			
Visits to Events/Facilities (past 3 months)	0.078	no	
Hours of Participation (past 1 week)	7.403	yes	p = 0.012
Groups = Degree of Expense of Activity or Event/Facility			
Visits to Events/Facilities (past 3 months)	1.197	no	
Hours of Participation (past 1 week)	5.620	yes	p = 0.011
Groups = Interaction between Employment Status and Degree of Expense of Activity or Event/Facility			
Visits to Events/Facilities (past 3 months)	0.262	no	
Hours of Participation (past 1 week)	3.772	yes	p = 0.040

Part IV

Overview and Discussion

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION

Life Satisfaction

The proposition concerning life satisfaction contained two statements as follows: (a) the unemployed will report less satisfaction than employed persons in the areas of family life, standard of living, non-working activities, health and physical condition and friendships and overall life; and, (b) the relationship between work status and satisfaction with amount of free time available will be inconsistent.

In terms of the first statement, employment status did not have a significant effect in the predicted direction upon the 1982 E. A. S. respondents' reported satisfaction. More specifically, satisfaction with non-working activities, overall life, standard of living, family life and friendships were not found to be statistically related to employment status. Further, it was found that for the life area in which employment status was significantly related to life satisfaction (health and physical condition), the nature of this relationship did not indicate that the unemployed were less satisfied than the other employment groups. More unemployed than expected reported feeling 'neutral' about this life area, which provided the source of significance in this relationship. The findings of the current study do not, then, support the literature on the experience of unemployment, in which unemployment is seen as a downward spiral negatively affecting all of the above life areas (Smith and Simpkins, 1980; Hayes and Nutman, 1981; C. M. H. A., 1983; Krahn, et al, 1985; Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985, 1986; Jahoda, 1981; Fagin and Little, 1984; Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985; Borgen and Amundson, 1984; Fortin, 1984; Hepworth, 1980; Cottle, 1979; Powell and Driscoll, 1973; Bakke, 1939, and; Pilgrim Trust, 1938).

The lack of support from the current data for the well-documented negative effects of unemployment upon the perceived quality of life may have been the result of a number

of factors. First, the data were collected in February, 1982 when the unemployment rate was relatively low in Edmonton (6.1%). As unemployment rates in Alberta had only just begun their sharp rise in 1982 (see Table 38), unemployment at this point in time may have been seen to be structural, where job vacancies exist and the unemployment rate simply reflects those individuals who are between jobs (Smith and Simpkins, 1980). The unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. may have been unemployed for only a short period of time and may not have experienced or anticipated the frustration of the unsuccessful job search which precipitates some of the negative effects in the later stages of unemployment.

Table 38

Unemployment Rates for Edmonton, 1982

(Source: Statistics Canada)

January	6.5%	July	8.3%
February	6.1%	August	8.7%
March	6.0%	September	9.3%
April	7.3%	October	8.3%
May	8.3%	November	10.2%
June	7.0%	December	10.3%

Average 1980	4.1%
Average 1981	4.1%
Average 1982	8.0%

The relatively low rate of unemployment in Edmonton at that time may have affected the findings of the current study in an additional way. It is possible that public sympathy for the plight of the unemployed had not yet been developed significantly, because of these relatively low rates of unemployment. Support for this idea may be found in Kelvin and Jarrett's documented impact of unemployment rates upon public opinion (1985). In terms of the current study, this may have influenced the 1982 E. A. S.

unemployed respondents' self-evaluation of and their admission of satisfaction with the life areas queried, causing them to report greater satisfaction than they really felt in the various life areas.

Another explanation for the current study's life satisfaction results may lie in the realm of mediating factors. It is possible that for a number of the unemployed respondents, the debilitating experience of joblessness had been mitigated by any or all of the following factors outlined in the literature: degree of economic hardship; commitment to work; social class; relationships with others; social support received; and ability to organize and utilize free time meaningfully (Smith and Simpkins, 1980; Fortin, 1984; Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985; C.M.H.A., 1983; Fagin and Little, 1981; Hayes and Nutman, 1981; Roberts, et al, 1982; and, Hepworth, 1980).

For example, the nine 1982 E. A. S. youths who were unemployed (Table 9) may have had a similar alienated or anomic commitment to work (Smith and Simpkins, 1980) as the unemployed youths described by Roberts, et al (1982) who, although they did not view their unemployment as enjoyable, also did not appear to suffer the psychological effects of unemployment to the same degree as older adults. Due to the small size of the current sample, the self-reported life satisfaction of these nine youths, making up over 42 percent of the total unemployed group, could have had a skewing impact upon the results - an impact which would have been heightened had there been other employed respondents for whom mitigating factors were in operation.

As well, from the description of the respondents it was evident than the majority of unemployed respondents were married or living common-law with spouses who were employed full time (Table 17). Further, the families of the unemployed were not over-represented in the income category falling below the low income line (Table 18) and most did not have any dependents (Table 13). This would suggest that for this particular group

of unemployed respondents, the mediating effect of adequate financial and social support may have buffered the negative impact of unemployment.

It should be noted at this point that, although the statistical analyses of the life satisfaction data did not yield significant results for the remaining life areas, there were two statistically unrelated life areas in which the unemployed appeared to have a tendency toward less satisfaction than the employed. A greater proportion of the unemployed than of the employed reported being dissatisfied with their overall life and standard of living (Tables 22 and 23). Had the study sample been larger, or had the data been more current, these observed tendencies may have become statistically significant differences.

In terms of the second statement of the life satisfaction proposition - that the relationship between work status and satisfaction with amount of free time available would be inconsistent - it was found that there was no significant relationship between the two variables. It was also found that satisfaction with the amount of free time clearly held the least satisfaction of all the life areas for both work status groups. The interpretation of these findings is not simple. Less satisfaction with the amount of available free time could mean too little time to the employed respondents and too much time to the unemployed respondents. At this point, given the limitations of the data and statistical analyses, little can be concluded from these findings.

The Importance of Recreation and Leisure Activities

One of the more interesting findings of the current study related to the second proposition - that the unemployed would view recreation and leisure activities as less important to them than would the employed. The rating of the importance of recreation and leisure activities was not significantly related to the respondents' employment status. However, it should be noted that the unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S.

unanimously reported that recreation and leisure activities were important to them - a finding that was in opposition to the predicted results.

The literature on leisure and unemployment has not yet addressed the importance of leisure and recreation activities to the unemployed. Therefore, this particular proposition had been deduced from the literature concerning the unemployed's apparent preoccupation with searching for work (c.f. C.M.H.A., 1983). It was supposed, intuitively, that the unemployed would view work as more important, and this, coupled with long hours of free time, would lead them to report that leisure and recreation activities were not important to them. However, as evidenced by the current findings, this thinking may have been faulty on both counts. Even if the individuals in this particular group of unemployed were preoccupied with the search for work (which they may not have been, given the life satisfaction results noted above), it may have been erroneous to assume that this preoccupation precluded them from considering a contrasting life area as equally important. As well, the assumption that the unemployed would not value leisure pursuits or recreation activities as important ways with which to fill unoccupied time may have also been incorrect.

Both the above explanations for the unexpected findings of the current study are as speculative as the rationale behind the original proposition. Further study is essential to gain a clearer and more definitive understanding of the reasons for and the degree to which the unemployed view their leisure and recreation activities as important.

Types of Leisure Pursuits

The third proposition predicted that the types of leisure pursuits of the unemployed would not differ from those of the employed except where cost was a significant factor influencing participation. Leisure pursuits were broken down into attendance at events or

facilities and participation in leisure activities. It was found that for the 1982 E. A. S. respondents, employment status was not significantly related to attendance or participation and that this held true even when the differing costs of the leisure pursuits were taken into account. The percentages of unemployed attending the specified events or facilities at least once over the three months prior to the study and participating in the specified leisure activities at least once during the week prior to the study were not significantly different from those of the employed, regardless of the cost of the event, facility or activity. Therefore, while the first part of the proposition was supported, the second part was not.

The rationale for the first part of the proposition came from three areas. First, the literature on leisure and unemployment is at a very early stage of development and includes much conjecture and little empirical research. Added to this is the fact that none of the empirical studies to date have examined the leisure pursuits of the unemployed in comparison to those of the employed, but rather have focussed upon the pursuits of the unemployed during unemployment, either as static descriptions (c.f. Glyptis, 1983) or in comparison to their leisure pursuits prior to the state of unemployment (c.f. Willis, 1983; Steiner, 1972; Pesavento Raymond, 1984; and, Bunker et al, 1983). Therefore, the current researcher took an exploratory approach when drafting the first part of the proposition concerning the types of leisure pursuits of the 1982 E. A. S. respondents. The underlying notion was to consider ways in which the data might be said to "lie"!

The second area from which the rationale for drafting an exploratory proposition stemmed was the well-documented stages of unemployment outlined in the literature on the experience of unemployment. The length of unemployment has a predictable effect upon the psychological experience of unemployment (Fortin, 1984; Borgen and Amundson, 1984; Fagin and Little, 1984; C. H. M. A., 1983; Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985; Powell and Driscoll, 1973; and, Hayes and Nutman, 1981) as well as upon the leisure pursuits of the

unemployed (Pesavento Raymond, 1984). The current researcher was without access to data concerning the duration of unemployment of the 1982 E. A. S. respondents and was consequently unable to predict systematically the leisure pursuits of the unemployed respondents.

Thirdly, although empirical studies of the leisure pursuits of the unemployed - as well as other studies that mention leisure pursuits as an incidental part of their overall discussion of the experience of unemployment - indicate that the unemployed generally curtail their participation in leisure activities, these findings are not unequivocal. Mediating factors such as marital status and financial support have been found to affect the degree to which the unemployed cut back on their leisure pursuits (Pesavento Raymond, 1984). As well, demographic characteristics such as age, sex and social class have been found to influence the leisure pursuits of individuals, regardless of employment status (Glyptis, 1983). The limitations of the 1982 E. A. S. data, particularly those relating to the small number of unemployed respondents, precluded the sorting and examination of potentially mediating factors and relevant demographic characteristics. This limitation added to the necessity for drafting an exploratory, rather than a definitive and directional, proposition.

How, then, did the data lie? As discussed earlier, it was found for this particular sample that employment status was not significantly related to types of leisure pursuits. Once again, the fact that the majority of the unemployed respondents were married or living in common-law status with an employed spouse and that their present household incomes appeared to be adequate suggest that the buffering factors of marital status and financial support may have fostered leisure pursuits.

There were, however, some notable differences between the employed and unemployed that are consistent with previous research findings and discussions on the leisure pursuits of the unemployed. For example, on average, fewer of the unemployed

respondents attended the specified events and facilities than did the employed (Table 28). This is consistent with the findings of Pesavento Raymond (1984) and Bunker, et al (1983) who found that, following job loss, the unemployed curtailed "away-from-home" leisure activities to a greater degree than they did "at-home" activities. This tendency is further supported by the data for participation in leisure activities (Table 30). The four top-ranking leisure activities (visiting with friends, watching T.V., reading, and listening to the radio) could all be seen as activities likely to occur at home; and the unemployed group's rates of participation were higher than those of the employed groups for all of these activities.

As well, the very low percentage of unemployed respondents who volunteered at least once over the week prior to the survey (4.8%) compared to the employed (21.5%) is consistent with O'Brian's (1983) comment on the lack of volunteers from the ranks of the unemployed in New York State Historic Parks. This finding, coupled with the fact that many fewer unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. participated in continuing education (4.76%) than did full time employed respondents (13.61%) make Stokes' (1983) 'constructive leisure' solution to lack of meaning for the unemployed an unlikely reality at the present time.

Thus, although there was no significant relationship between employment status and type of leisure pursuit in aggregate, there were some individual tendencies in the current exploratory study that could be seen as fruitful areas for further research.

The second part of the proposition concerning the leisure pursuits of the unemployed suggested that the cost of leisure pursuits would have an effect upon participation and attendance. In contrast to the literature on types of leisure pursuits (which is in its initial stages and to date has not provided clear-cut conclusions), the research concerning the financial impact of unemployment clearly and consistently states that the financial constraints associated with loss of income seriously affect the lives of the

unemployed (C. M. H. A., 1983; Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1985; and, Fortin, 1984) and, specifically, their leisure options (Parker, 1983; Pesavento Raymond, 1984; and, Steiner, 1972). These conclusive findings provided the basis for predicting that the cost of leisure pursuits would have a direct impact upon the participation and attendance rates of the unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. However, as evidenced by the findings of the current study, cost was not found to affect significantly the rates of attendance or participation of the unemployed. As suggested in the discussion of the life satisfaction data, mediating factors, particularly those relating to the degree of economic hardship and the length of unemployment, may have influenced the participation and attendance data for this particular group of unemployed respondents. Notwithstanding this, the issue of the relationships between participation in leisure activities and the cost of those activities is worthy of more detailed study.

Frequency of Leisure Pursuits

The fourth proposition of the current study related to the frequency of leisure pursuits and was stated in two parts: first, it was suggested that the overall frequency of attendance and participation would be greater for the unemployed than for the employed; and second, it was postulated that the frequency of attendance and participation in less costly events, facilities and activities would be greater for the unemployed. It was assumed that the unemployed would have larger blocks of unobligated time that could be devoted to their chosen leisure pursuits and that less costly activities, events and facilities would be particularly attractive and accessible.

It is evident from Table 29 that for the respondents to the 1982 E. A. S., the frequency of attendance (measured as the number of visits to the specified events and facilities over the three month period prior to the study) was not related significantly to

employment status, to the degree of expense of the event or facility or to the interaction between these two factors. Overall, the unemployed respondents who had attended the specified events and facilities at least once during the three month period prior to the study did not visit the events and facilities more frequently than did the part time and full time employed respondents, regardless of cost. Therefore, both parts of the first proposition were not supported by the current data concerning attendance. Once again, mediating factors, such as degree of economic hardship and length of time unemployed, may have been in operation for this particular group of unemployed and, hence, may have affected the findings.

As well, it is possible that an examination of the duration of attendance rather than the frequency of attendance might have yielded significant differences between the employed and unemployed. Had comparisons been possible in terms of the time actually spent at the specified events and facilities rather than in terms of the numbers of visits, it may have been found that, although the unemployed did not attend more frequently, the duration of their visits may have been longer.

Further, the very nature of many of the events and facilities included in the 1982 E. A. S. may have influenced the findings to some degree. For example, the number of times an individual can possibly attend an event is dependent upon how often that event is held (eg. sporting events, performances, fairs and festivals). In addition, some facilities are best enjoyed only once or twice over a short period of time (eg. museums, historical or cultural sites and art galleries). Thus, the respondents who attended the specified events and facilities at least once over the three month period prior to the study may have had neither the opportunity nor the desire to visit those events and facilities more than they did, irrespective of their employment status. In other words, it may have been characteristics

inherent in the particular events and facilities included in the 1982 E. A. S. that determined the number of visits rather than characteristics inherent in the respondents.

While the frequency of attendance data did not support either of the two statements of the fourth proposition, both statements were supported by the frequency of participation data. Frequency of participation (measured as the number of hours spent doing the specified leisure activities during the week prior to the study) was found to be significantly related to employment status, to the degree of expense of leisure activities, and to the interaction between these two variables (Table 36). The unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. participated for more hours and this was especially the case for less costly activities.

It can be seen from Table 35 that, on an overall basis, the unemployed respondents spent more hours participating in their chosen leisure activities over the week prior to the study than did the employed respondents. This held true on an activity by activity basis with the following exceptions: visual arts activities, continuing education and going out, in which the unemployed respondents participated less frequently than did the employed respondents. There appeared to be a general tendency for this particular group of unemployed to participate with greater frequency in activities which are usually done at home and with less frequency in away from home activities. Once again, this is consistent with the conclusions of Pesavento Raymond (1984) and with the initial findings of Bunker et al (1983), who both noted that their unemployed subjects increased at home activities and decreased away from home activities following job loss.

CHAPTER 9. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the differences and similarities between unemployed and employed persons in terms of their life satisfaction and leisure pursuits. It was proposed that the unemployed would be less satisfied than the employed with most of their life areas. In terms of leisure pursuits, it was suggested that the unemployed would choose similar leisure pursuits to the employed but that they would participate more frequently in those chosen pursuits. It was also proposed that the degree of expense of a given pursuit would affect participation; in particular, that the unemployed respondents would be more likely to choose leisure interests that were inexpensive and that they would participate with greater frequency in those chosen pursuits.

The methodology chosen for this exploration was a secondary analysis of relevant data from the 1982 Edmonton Area Study (E. A. S.). The E. A. S. is conducted annually by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, and consists of a structured interview of randomly-selected Edmonton residents on a variety of both recurring and special topics. As the drafters of the 1982 E. A. S. designated 'Culture and Leisure' as its special topic for this year, it was deemed particularly appropriate for the current research problem.

Of the 507 respondents to the 1982 E. A. S., 294 were employed and 21 were unemployed. The data chosen for analysis were the responses of the unemployed and employed respondents to questions concerning employment status, demographic characteristics, life satisfaction, importance of recreation activities, and leisure pursuits. The data were readily available in a public file from the University of Alberta Department of Computing Services and were subjected to cross-tabulations, Chi-square, and one-way and two-way Analyses of Variance, as appropriate in order that the propositions could be tested.

Employment status, as the independent variable, and degree of satisfaction with the various life areas (family life, standard of living, health and physical condition, friendships, non-working activities, amount of free time and overall life), as the dependent variable were cross-tabulated and a Chi-square test of significance was completed. This statistical analysis showed that the unemployed were not significantly less satisfied than the employed with any of these life areas. It was suggested that any or all of the following may explain the lack of support from the current study for the well-documented negative experience of unemployment found in the literature: the low unemployment rate in Alberta at the time of the study; the possibility of factors in existence that might mediate the predicted experience of unemployment; and the small sample size of unemployed respondents.

In the same fashion as the life satisfaction data, the importance of leisure activities data were cross-tabulated with employment status and a Chi-square test of significance was conducted to determine the significance of the relationship between employment status and degree of importance accorded recreation activities. There were no significant differences found between the employed and unemployed on this variable - both groups generally viewed recreation activities as important to them. Of particular note is the fact that the entire group (100.00%) of unemployed respondents rated recreation activities as important. This was in direct opposition to expected results, as it had been predicted at the outset of the study that the unemployed would rate recreation activities as less important to them than would the employed.

The leisure pursuits data (broken down into attendance at specified events and facilities and participation in specified leisure activities) was subjected to a one-way analysis of variance (with the employment statuses as the groups) and it was found, as proposed, that the unemployed respondents attended or participated in similar events,

facilities and activities as did the employed respondents. The one-way analyses of variance indicated that the degree of expense of event or facility was unrelated to the rate of attendance at events or facilities, but that the degree of expense of leisure activity was significantly related to the rate of participation. When two-way analyses of variance were conducted, to test the interaction between degree of expense of event, facility or activity and employment status, neither the attendance at events and facilities data nor the participation in leisure pursuits data were found to be significantly affected. The unemployed respondents did not seem to choose leisure pursuits based upon the cost of those pursuits any differently than did the employed respondents.

The one-way and two-way analyses of variance of the frequency of leisure pursuits yielded mixed results. Frequency of attendance at events and facilities (measured as the number of visits over the three month period prior to the study) was found to be unrelated to employment status, cost of event or facility and the interaction between these two variables. The unemployed respondents did not visit the specified events and facilities with greater frequency than the employed respondents, regardless of the cost. It was suggested that had attendance been measured in terms of hours spent while visiting the specified event or facility (duration), rather than in terms of the number of visits (frequency), that it may have been found that the unemployed respondents spent more time engaged in the events than the employed respondents. It was also suggested that the nature of the events and facilities may have, in some cases, pre-determined the number of total possible or desirable visits and that this may have affected the findings.

Frequency of participation in leisure activities (measured as the number of hours spent at the leisure activity during the week prior to the study) was found to be significantly related to employment status, cost of activity, as well as the interaction between the two.

The unemployed participated for longer hours at their chosen leisure activities and this was especially the case for less costly activities.

A further finding from the leisure pursuits data which was not tested empirically, but which appeared to be present, was a tendency for the unemployed respondents to choose and participate with greater frequency in leisure pursuits which take place in the home as opposed to those which take place outside of the home. These tendencies are consistent with the findings in the literature on the leisure pursuits of the unemployed.

Conclusions

The study featured several limitations and delimitations which must be outlined before any conclusions can be drawn from the above findings. Firstly, this study was designed to be exploratory in nature: its purpose was to look at an area of research that has had a very short history of scientific inquiry. It was hoped that the study would 'break ground' rather than provide definitive answers. Secondly, as the methodology utilized was secondary data analysis, there were limitations stemming from the use of data that were initially gathered for purposes other than the current research. Some pertinent information was unavailable to the current researcher, such as length of unemployment, prior occupation, attitude toward previous employment, and leisure choices other than those listed in the 1982 E. A. S., as well as detailed responses and explanations to close-ended questions. Thirdly, the time at which the data utilized for the current study were gathered was limiting - chiefly in that the unemployment rate in Alberta at the time of the 1982 E. A. S. (February) was not as alarming as the higher rates of subsequent months. This fact may have affected the results of the current study and the unemployed of more recent time periods may be quite different. Finally, the small sample size of unemployed respondents is limiting, precluding definitive conclusions for this particular sample as well as

generalizations to other populations. For the above reasons, then, the following conclusions are tentative and pertain only to the respondents to the 1982 Edmonton Area Study. Nevertheless, they hold some insights - particularly into areas of possible future research.

The unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S.:

1. were as satisfied with the various life areas as were the employed respondents;
2. felt that recreation activities were important to them;
3. attended similar events and facilities and participated in similar leisure activities as did the employed respondents, regardless of cost;
4. attended their chosen events and facilities with the same frequency as did the employed respondents, regardless of the cost of those events and facilities;
5. participated for longer hours in their chosen leisure activities than did the employed respondents, especially in less costly activities;
6. tended to choose, and pursue with more frequency, leisure interests which took place at home as opposed to those which took place away from home.

Recommendations for Further Research

The current exploratory study may be viewed as 'breaking ground' in the area of leisure pursuits of the unemployed as they compare to those of the employed. The following section includes recommendations for further research based upon the results and limitations of the present study.

First, more current and comprehensive research on the leisure pursuits of the unemployed in comparison to those of the employed is necessary and should incorporate samples of employed and unemployed subjects that are approximately equal in size and matched in terms of relevant demographic characteristics (eg. education, socio-economic status, age, sex and marital status). As well, the specific list of leisure pursuits included should be more comprehensive than for those of the current study. Leisure activities that

are popular with Albertans could be included, such as: driving or walking for pleasure; picnicking; swimming; camping; fishing; skiing; bicycling; playing card and board games; and, playing and watching team sports (Alberta Recreation and Parks, 1984). As well, the research could consider attendance at public recreational facilities such as: swimming pools; parks; fitness centres; arenas; nature centres; community leagues; and shopping malls. All of these listed activities and facilities were missing from the 1982 E. A. S. study.

As well, further research that looks at the leisure experiences of the unemployed in more depth is necessary. Case studies, time diaries, and in-depth surveys or interviews would provide a more complete picture of the leisure lives of the unemployed, as well as, perhaps, offering some explanation for findings in the current study. For example, the unexpected finding of the high degree of importance accorded to recreational activities by the unemployed respondents to the 1982 E. A. S. and the unexplained finding of degree of satisfaction with amount of free time available could be probed more fully with a case study or in-depth interview methodology.

In addition, the current researcher was limited to an examination at one point in time and was unable to take the length of the respondents' unemployment status into account. Although much is known about the psychological experience of unemployment over time, little is known about the leisure experience in relation to the well-documented stages of unemployment. Therefore, it is recommended that further study, in the form of longitudinal or cross-sectional research in which the particular stages of unemployment can be discerned, should be conducted, with the purpose of determining the effect of duration of unemployment upon the leisure pursuits, attitudes and satisfactions of the unemployed. Research of this kind would help 'round out' the existing knowledge on the stages and experience of unemployment, as well as add much to the general study of leisure and its determinants.

Leisure, as it relates to mediating factors, is another area in need of further study. Under this general heading, leisure can be seen as either an independent variable (ie. one of the mediating factors that mitigates the negative effects of unemployment) or as a dependent variable (ie. an aspect of the unemployment experience that may be mitigated by other mediating factors). The current study did not touch upon the mediating value of leisure, and empirical testing thus far has been limited to examinations of the benefits of agency-provided sports programmes for the unemployed (cf. Kay, 1983; Donkin, 1983; and Glyptis and Kay, 1986). Further research is needed that expands the definition of leisure to include pursuits from other interest areas that are structured as well as unstructured, at home as well as away from home. Information of this kind could be of use in the practical arena, providing direction to recreation programmers and policy makers, as well as to social agencies interested in helping individuals cope with unemployment.

The effects of mediating factors upon the leisure pursuits, attitudes and satisfactions of the unemployed constitute yet another uncharted area. Although there are many possibilities in this area, stemming from the wide array of identified mediating factors, one factor that may be of particular interest to leisure researchers is that of work commitment. Smith and Simpkins' (1980) Model for Orientation to Work appears to have excellent potential for providing a theoretical construct from which to examine the leisure of the unemployed as it may be mediated by attachment and commitment to work. A testing of this model would not only aid in providing an understanding of the relationship between leisure and unemployment, it would also add to the existing literature on the relationship between leisure and work.

Research could also be conducted to understand the differences and similarities between the part time employed and the employed and unemployed. In particular, there are unanswered questions with respect to the experience of part time employment. Are those

who are employed part time more similar to the unemployed or to the employed in terms of their life satisfaction and leisure pursuits? Can part time employment provide individuals with 'the best of both worlds' - the manifest and latent benefits of work along with enough time to participate in satisfying leisure? Or do the part time employed constitute a demographic group with unique experiences and characteristics? This type of research would be valuable, in that job sharing and part time employment have been espoused as having benefits for employers and employees alike and appear to be increasing in popularity and availability.

In general, it can be said that the current study has added to the existing knowledge of unemployment and leisure. However, much remains to be done to further an understanding of the leisure of the unemployed, in terms of leisure as both a part of the overall unemployment experience and as a valuable tool for helping individuals cope with the negative effects of joblessness.

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APPENDIX A.

Breakdowns of Attendance at Individual Events and Facilities

Table 39

Attendance at Art Gallery or Art Museum by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	68	23.13	294	2.25*
Unemployed	2	9.52	21	1.00

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	57	25.22	226	
Unemployed	3	15.79	19	

*excludes 1 respondent reporting 100+ visits

Table 40

Attendance at a Bookstore by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	251	85.67	293	6.37
Unemployed	15	71.43	21	5.13

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	13	30.95	42	
Unemployed	3	50.00	6	

Table 41

Attendance at a Classical Music or Dance Performance by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	65	22.26	292	2.02
Unemployed	2	9.52	21	1.00
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	42	18.58	226	
Unemployed	2	10.53	19	

Table 42

Attendance at a Folk, Rock, Jazz or Pop Music Performance by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	65	22.18	293	3.05
Unemployed	6	28.57	21	6.50
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	60	26.32	228	
Unemployed	8	53.33	15	

Table 43

Attendance at a Historical Site or Cultural Centre by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	67	22.87	292	2.39
Unemployed	3	14.29	21	1.00
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	113	50.22	225	
Unemployed	7	38.89	18	

Table 44

Attendance at Live Theatre by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	75	25.60	293	1.93
Unemployed	4	19.05	21	1.25
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	55	25.35	217	
Unemployed	2	11.76	17	

Table 45

Attendance at a Movie by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	166	56.85	292	3.42
Unemployed	12	57.14	21	3.33
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	56	44.44	126	
Unemployed	2	22.22	9	

Table 46

Attendance at Museums (general, science and ecology, historical, maritime, etc.) by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	56	19.[illegible]	294	1.84
Unemployed	3	14.29	21	1.00
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	127	53.36	238	
Unemployed	9	50.00	18	

Table 47

Attendance at a Public Library by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	131	44.56	294	5.32*
Unemployed	6	28.57	21	7.33
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	59	36.20	163	
Unemployed	5	33.33	15	

*excludes 1 respondent reporting 100+ visits

Table 48

Attendance at a Sport Event by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	133	45.39	293	6.01
Unemployed	10	47.62	21	9.10
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	71	44.38	160	
Unemployed	6	54.55	11	

Table 49

Attendance at a Zoo, Circus or Live Animal Performance by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	41	13.99	293	1.18
Unemployed	1	4.76	21	3.00
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	104	41.27	252	
Unemployed	6	30.00	20	

Table 50

Attendance at Art or Craft Fair or Festival by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	67	22.87	293	1.53
Unemployed	4	19.05	21	1.00
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	64	28.32	226	
Unemployed	2	11.76	17	

APPENDIX B.

Breakdowns of Participation in Individual Leisure Pursuits

Table 51

Engaging in Sculpture, Painting and Drawing, Film, Photography and Other Arts Activities by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	66	22.45	294	7.12
Unemployed	3	14.29	21	4.33
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	89	39.21	227	
Unemployed	8	44.44	18	

Table 52

Going Out (Dining Out, Going to Theatre, Etc.) by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	186	63.27	294	5.63
Unemployed	15	71.43	21	3.33
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	97	89.81	108	
Unemployed	5	83.33	6	

Table 53

Engaging in Hobby or Craft Activities by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	126	43.00	293	6.45
Unemployed	8	38.10	21	14.50

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	87	52.41	166	
Unemployed	6	46.15	13	

Table 54

Taking Lessons or Formal Instruction (Degree or Non-degree Course) as a Leisure Time Activity by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	40	13.61	294	5.43
Unemployed	1	4.76	21	4.00

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	77	30.68	251	
Unemployed	4	20.00	20	

Table 55

Playing a Musical Instrument or Voice Practice by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	45	15.31	294	4.47
Unemployed	3	14.29	21	15.33

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	49	19.76	248	
Unemployed	4	22.22	18	

Table 56

Listening to the Radio by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	278	94.56	294	12.10
Unemployed	21	100.00	21	21.33

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	13	81.25	16	
Unemployed	n/a	n/a	n/a	

Table 57

Reading Books, Magazines or Newspapers as a Leisure Activity by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	278	94.88	293	7.32
Unemployed	20	95.24	21	10.50

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	10	66.67	15	
Unemployed	n/a	n/a	n/a	

Table 58

Engaging in Individual and Team Sports or Physical Exercise by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	169	57.48	294	4.95
Unemployed	15	71.42	21	8.27

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	74	59.68	124	
Unemployed	5	83.33	6	

Table 59

Watching T.V. by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	274	93.20	294	11.05
Unemployed	21	100.00	21	16.19
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	12	63.16	19	
Unemployed	n/a	n/a	n/a	

Table 60

Listening to Records, Tapes or Cassettes by Employment Status

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS				
Employed	229	77.89	294	8.67
Unemployed	16	76.19	21	16.75
ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO (for those who had not attended over last three months)				
Employed	51	79.69	64	
Unemployed	3	60.00	5	

Table 61

Visiting or Talking to Friends or Relatives by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	281	96.23	292	9.94
Unemployed	21	100.00	21	17.57

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	10	90.91	11	
Unemployed	n/a	n/a	n/a	

Table 62

Engaging in Volunteer Work, Community Affairs, Clubs, Etc. by Employment Status

ATTENDANCE OVER LAST THREE MONTHS

	Number Reporting Yes	Percent of each Employment Grp.	Total Number of Respondents	Ave. # of Visits per person
Employed	63	21.43	294	3.68
Unemployed	1	4.76	21	20.00

ATTENDANCE FROM 3 MONTHS TO 1 YEAR AGO
(for those who had not attended over last three months)

Employed	61	26.64	229	
Unemployed	6	30.00	2	